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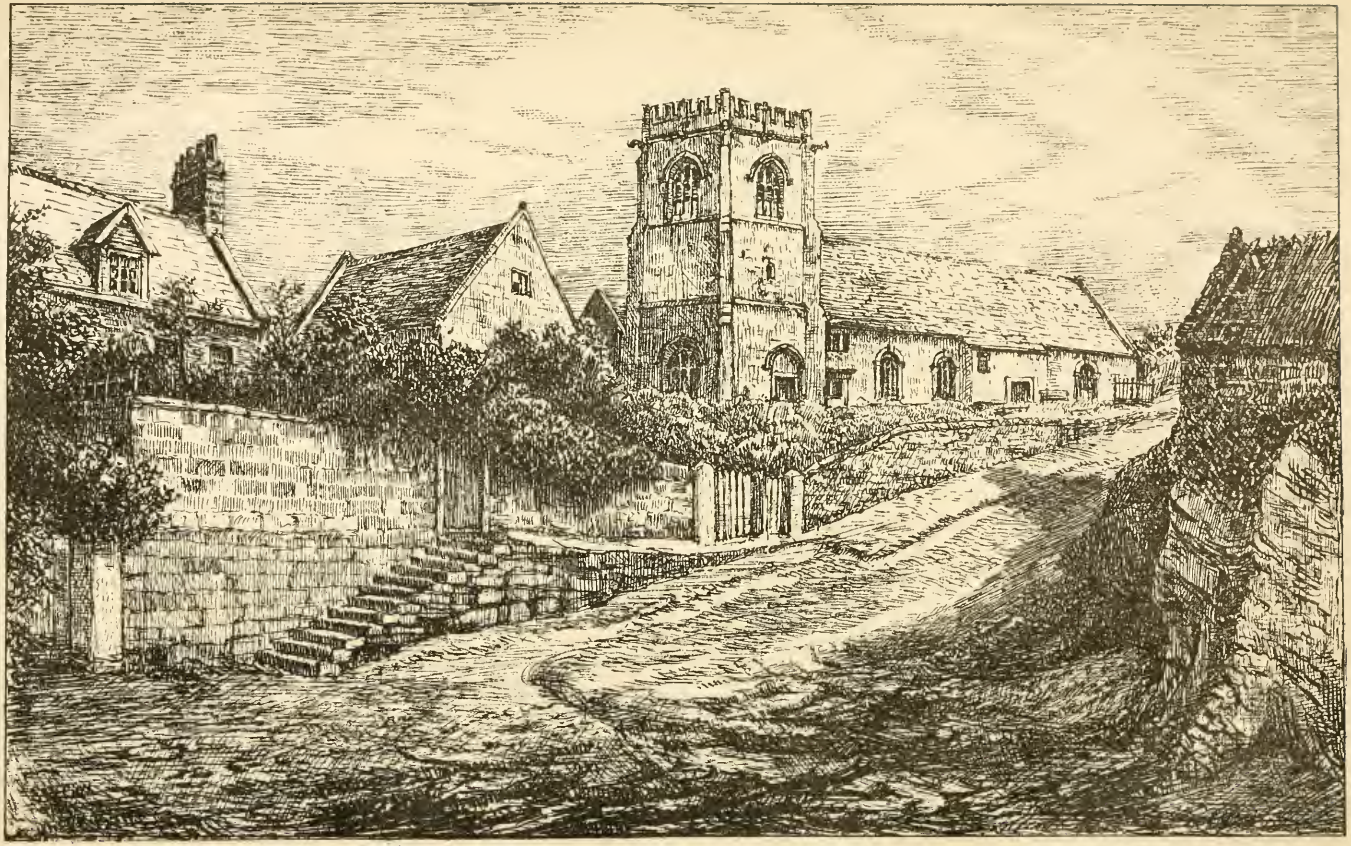

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

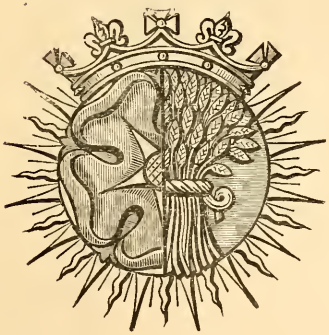
HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

Lancashire and Cheshire.

FOR THE YEARS 1891, 1892.—VOLUMES XLIII AND XLIV.

NEW SERIES.—VOLUMES VII AND VIII.



LIVERPOOL:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1893.

T. BRAKELL LTD., LIVERPOOL.

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The thanks of the Council are gratefully tendered to Mr. Ashby Pritt and Mr. E. W. Cox, for loans of drawings; to Mr. Osmund W. Jeffs, for lending the woodcut of the Overchurch Stone; and to Mr. W. H. Rylands, for preparing for stone the plates which illustrate his paper on "Masons' Marks."

The authors of papers alone are responsible for the facts and opinions expressed in their several communications.

THE PRESENT VOLUME HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR THE PRESS BY
R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., Ch. Ch., Oxford, F.S.A.,
Hon. Secretary and Editor.

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List of Honorary Local Secretaries.

LANCASHIRE.

District.	Name.
Bacup	Rev. J. S. Doxey, Christ Church Vicarage, Bacup.
Blackburn	W. A. Abram, 42, Adelaide Terrace, Blackburn.
Blackpool	The Rev. E. Lupton, Crystal Road, South Shore, Blackpool.
Burnley	W. Ecroyd, Lomeshaye, Burnley.
Carnforth	The Rev. W. B. Grenside, Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
Clitheroe	A. J. Robinson, Clitheroe Castle, Clitheroe.
Colne	James Carr, Colne.
Denton	The Rev. A. Crofton, Reddish Green.
Flixton	D. J. Leech, M.D., Elm House, Whalley Range.
Haslingden	Henry Stephenson, Haslingden.
Hawkshead	Joseph Rawlinson, Ulverston.
Lancaster	W. O. Roper, Lancaster.
Leigh	W. D. Pink, King Street, Leigh.
Leyland	The Rev. W. Stuart White, Esh Vicarage, Durham.
Ormskirk	James Bromley, The Homestead, Lathom.
Prescot	Henry Cross, 19, Castle Street, Liverpool.
Rainford	The Rev. J. W. Williams, The Vicarage, Rainford.
Ribchester	The Rev. F. J. Dickson, The Rectory, Ribchester.
Rochdale	Lt.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale.
Sefton	W. E. Gregson, 43, Moor Lane, Great Crosby.
Southport	H. S. Threlfall, 12, London Street, Southport.
Ulverston	The Rev. Canon Bardsley, F.S.A., The Vicarage, Ulverston.
Warrington	W. Owen, F.R.I.B.A., Cairo Street Chambers, Warrington.
Whalley and Pendle Hill	W. S. Weeks, Clitheroe.
Wigan	T. R. Ellis, 18, King Street, Wigan.
Winwick and Newton-le-Willows	Rev. J. Carson, Winwick, Newton-le-Willows.
Wray, near Lancaster	Rev. C. L. Reynolds, Wray Vicarage, Lancaster.

CHESHIRE.

Bebington	E. W. Cox, Fox Covers, Bebington.
Congleton	Robert Head, Churchyard Corner, Nantwich.
Eastham	Rev. Francis Sanders, Hoylake.
Holmes Chapel ...	Rev. H. G. Barnacle, Holmes Chapel.
Hyde	Rev. J. F. Messenger, Newton Moor Vicarage, Hyde.
Malpas	Rev. the Hon. W. Trevor Kenyon.
Nantwich	James Hall, Lindum House, Nantwich.
Northwich and Middlewich ...	Wm. Bancroft, Northwich.
Thurstaston	Sir David Radcliffe, Thurstaston Hall.
Wallasey	Rev. A. E. P. Gray, M.A., F.S.A., The Rectory, Wallasey.
Wilmslow	George Pearson, Southside, Wilmslow.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, FOR THE YEARS 1893-94.

President.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, D.D.

Vice-Presidents.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, D.D., F.S.A., *Ex-President.*
THOMAS GLAZEBROOK RYLANDS, F.S.A., *Ex-President.*
THE LORD LIEUT. OF CHESHIRE (THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.)
THE LORD LIEUT. OF LANCASHIRE (THE EARL OF SEFTON, K.G.)
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, G.C.B.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LATHOM.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.
THE REV. THE RECTOR OF LIVERPOOL.
JOHN RUSKIN, LL.D.
JOHN PAUL RYLANDS, F.S.A.

Members of Council.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1894.

T. ALGERNON EARLE.
LIEUT.-COL. FISHWICK, F.S.A.
REV. A. E. P. GRAY, M.A., F.S.A.
W. D. H. DEANE, M.A.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1895.

J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.
JOHN HARGREAVES.
W. O. ROPER.
HENRY PEET, F.S.A.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1896.

E. W. COX.
GEORGE GRAZEBROOK, F.S.A.
E. M. HANCE, LL.B.
J. G. PRENTICE.

Hon. Treasurer.

H. D. ESHELBY, F.S.A.

Hon. Librarian.

G. T. SHAW.

Hon. Curator.

CHARLES POTTER.

Hon. Secretary and Editor.

R. D. RADCLIFFE, M.A., Ch. Ch., Oxon., F.S.A.

Hon. Assistant Secretaries.

T. N. MORTON.
W. FERGUSSON IRVINE.

Officers of the Society since commencement.

Presidents.

1. Right Hon. Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Lord-Lieut. of Lancashire - - - - - - - - - - 1848.
2. Right Hon. Charles William, 3rd Earl of Sefton, Lord-Lieut. of Lancashire - - - - - - - - - 1854.
3. General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L. - - 1855.
4. Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. - - - 1863.
5. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c. - - - - - - - - 1866.
6. Rev. Canon Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. - - - - - 1869.
7. The Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester - - 1875.
8. Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., &c. - - - - 1879.
9. Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Oxford, F.S.A. - - - 1885.
10. Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Chester, D.D. - 1889.

Secretaries.

1848. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and H. C. Pidgeon.
1851. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.
1854. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.

		Assistant Secretaries.
1855.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	Thomas G. Wedgwood.
1856.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	W. W. Rundell.
1857.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	J. H. Genn.
1864.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	J. H. Genn.
1867.	David Buxton.	Charles Dyall.
1875.	David Buxton.	[Arthur Wakefield.]
1876.	David Buxton.	Eugenio Londini.
1877.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	Eugenio Londini.
1882.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1884.	E. M. Hance, LL.B. & R. D. Radcliffe, M.A.	T. N. Morton.
1888.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1892.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton. & W. F. Irvine.

Treasurers.

1848. Thomas Avison, F.S.A.
1860. William Burke.
1867. John G. Jacob.
1886. H. D. Eshelby, F.S.A.

	Librarians.	Curators.
1848.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
1851.	Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
1859.	David Buxton.	A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1867.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1869.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	H. Ecroyd Smith.
1871.	John R. Hughes.	H. Ecroyd Smith.
1875.	John R. Hughes.	J. Harris Gibson.
1876	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	J. Harris Gibson.
1877.	E. M. Hance, LL.B.	J. Harris Gibson.
1880.	*(Offices in abeyance.)*	
1885.	W. Thompson Watkin.	J. Harris Gibson.
1886.	W. Thompson Watkin.	W. Forshaw Wilson.
1889.	George T. Shaw.	W. C. Ashby Pritt.
1889.	G. T. Shaw.	Charles Potter.

N.B.—It is requested that notice be given to the Secretary of any errors, change of address, or death.

LIST OF MEMBERS,

Corrected to 31st December, 1893.

The names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS, and those of Resident Member have an asterisk attached.

DATE OF ELECTION.	
1889. April 4	*Abraham, Miss E. C. River Lawn, Grassendale Park, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	*Abraham, Thomas Fell. 53 Bidston road, Oxton.
1872. Dec. 12	Abram, W. A. 83 Alexandra road, Blackburn.
1877. Feb. 22	Adshead, George Haward. Fern Villas, 94 Bolton road, Pendleton, Manchester.
1889. Jan. 10	*Alsop, J. W., B.A. 14 Castle street, Liverpool.
1893. Jan. 12	*Angus, John H. Upton road, Bidston.
1889. Feb. 21	Arkle, Richard Naylor, M.A. 13 Old square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1888. Mar. 22	*Athenæum Library, Liverpool.
1889. Feb. 7	*Atkinson, Wm. Christopher. 8 Harrington street, Liverpool.
1890. Jan. 23	*Ayrton, William. 9 Cook street, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	*Bailey, James. Rostherne, Greenhill road, Allerton, Liverpool.
1888. Nov. 29	Banks, William. 1 Starkie street, Preston.
1886. Nov. 18	*Banner, John S. Harmood. Puddington Hall, Neston, Cheshire.
1889. Mar. 7	*Bartlett, William. Highfield House, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.
1893. Mar. 9	*Baxter, Richard Walter. Springkell, Beresford road, Birkenhead.
1892. Feb. 25	*Beazley, Edwin A. 25 Water street, Liverpool.
1891. Dec. 3	*Bell, Henry. Greenfield, West Kirby, Cheshire.
1864. Dec. 1	*Benas, B. L. 5 Prince's avenue, Liverpool.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1889. Mar. 7 *Bencke, Albert Henry, M.A. Bentham, West Derby, Liverpool.

1884. Nov. 13 Bennett, Henry. Rock Cottage, Bedminster, Bristol.

1888. Nov. 29 *Birchall, Charles. The Laurels, Church street, Egremont, Birkenhead.

1891. Feb. 19 Birley, Major Hugh Arthur. Woodside, Knutsford.

1889. Oct. 31 Birmingham Central Free Library. Ratcliff place, Birmingham.

1888. Nov. 15 Bispham, William. 12 Eighteenth street West, New York, U.S.A.

1870. April 7 Blackburn Free Library. Blackburn.

1891. Feb. 5 Bleckly, William Henry. Thelwall Lea, Warrington.

1883. Mar. 8 Blundell, Rev. T. B. H., Hon. Canon of Liverpool; Hon. Chaplain to Her Majesty the Queen. Halsall Rectory, Ormskirk.

1888. Mar. 22 Bodleian Library. Oxford.

1890. Nov. 6 *Bootle Free Library. Oriel road, Bootle.

1888. Mar. 22 Boston Athenæum. Boston, U.S.A.; c/o Messrs. Trübner & Co., Ludgate hill, London, E.C.

1889. Jan. 10 Boston Public Library. Boston, U.S.A.; c/o Messrs. Trübner & Co.

1853. Dec. 15 Bossi, Arthur. Care of Thompson, Melly & Co., Brown's Buildings, Liverpool.

1893. Jan. 12 *Bottomley, Samuel. 23 Ducie street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.

1881. Dec. 1 Bourne, Robert W. 18 Hereford square, London, S.W.

1889. Feb. 21 *Bradbury, George. 14 Cook street, Liverpool.

1890. Feb. 20 *Brakell, Henry Edward. Magazine terrace, New Brighton.

1891. Feb. 5 Bretherton, Rev. Humphrey W., M.A. Eccleston Rectory, Chorley.

1891. Nov. 5 British Museum Library; c/o Messrs. Dulau and Co. Soho square, London, W.

1876. April 20 Bromley, James, The Homestead, Lathom, Ormskirk.

1888. Feb. 23 BROOKE, COLONEL THOMAS, F.S.A. Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield.

Date of Election.	
1868. Feb. 6	Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., M.P. F.S.A. Barlow Hall, Manchester.
1872. April 4	Broughton, Frederick. Hamilton, Canada.
1891. Mar. 19	*Brown, Jacob G. 20 Brompton avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
1889. Nov. 28	Brown, James Roberts. 44 Tregunter road, South Kensington, London, S.W.
1893. Mar. 23	*Browne, Henry B. Norcot, Poulton road, Seacombe.
1881. Jan. 27	Burnley Literary and Scientific Club. Burnley.
	Bury Co-operative Society. Bury.
1879. Jan. 9	Caraher, Hugh. Boyne Lodge, Abbey road, Llandudno.
1885. Jan. 22	Caröe, W. D. 35 New Bond st., London, W.
1888. Nov. 15	Carrington, W. A. Bakewell, Derbyshire.
1891. Nov. 5	Castle, Egerton, M.A., F.S.A. 49 Sloane gardens, London, S.W.
1889. Feb. 21	*Caton, Richard, M.D. Rodney street, Liverpool.
1888. Dec. 13	Chadwick, Edwin. Mottram road, Stalybridge.
1889 Jan. 10	Chester, the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of, D.D. The Palace, Chester, *President*.
1879. Jan. 9	Chetham Library. Manchester.
1893. Feb. 23	Chicago Public Library. Chicago, U.S.A.
1859. April 14	Clement, Leonard. Forest View, Nelson-in-Marsden, Burnley.
1892. Nov. 3	*Cockbain, T. Herbert. 19 James street, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	*Cook, Edmund. Hornby Villa, Hoylake, Cheshire.
1855. May 24	*Comber Thomas. B 13 Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
1889. Mar. 7	*Cox, Edward W. Foxcovers, Bebington, Birkenhead.
1888. Nov. 15	Crane, John C. West Millbury, Mass., U.S.A.
1890. Nov. 6	Crofton, Henry Thomas. 36 Brazenose street, Manchester.
1889. Feb. 21	*Crosfield, John D. Forest Hey, Northwich.

Date of Election.	
1889. Mar. 7	Crosse, Colonel Thomas Richard. Shaw Hill, Chorley.
1891. Nov. 5	Dally, Frederick, M.D. 51 Waterloo road South, Wolverhampton.
1888. Mar. 22	Darwen Free Public Library. Darwen.
1888. Nov. 1	Day, Robert, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. 3 Sidney place, Cork.
1890. Jan. 23	*Deane, W. D. H., M.A. New College, Arundel avenue, Sefton park, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	*Dempsey, Miss Ellinor Mary. The Grange, Noctorum, Birkenhead.
1893. Nov. 30	Derby, The Earl of, G.C.B. Knowsley, Prescot, *Vice-President.*
1892. Nov. 3	Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. (Per B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar square, London, W.C.)
1857. April 23	Devonshire, The Duke of, K.G. Chatsworth, Chesterfield.
1890. Jan. 23	*Dickinson John. 77 Bedford street, Liverpool.
1879. Dec. 11	Dun, John. Rock Villas, Latchford, Warrington.
1888. Mar. 22	Earle, Hardman Arthur. 7 Hill street, Rutland Gate, London, S.W.
1890. Feb. 20	Earle, Capt. Henry, D.S.O. Westfield, Cambridge.
1888. Feb. 9	*Earle, T. Algernon. Hartford, Cheshire.
1873. Dec. 11	Earwaker, John Parsons, M.A., F.S.A. Pensarn, Abergele, North Wales.
1891. Mar. 5	Ecroyd, W. Lomeshaye Mills, Burnley.
1890. Jan. 9	Eden John. Colwyn, North Wales.
1851. Jan. 7	Egerton of Tatton, The Lord. Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire.
1891. Mar. 5	*Elcum, Rev. Charles C., M.A. St. Agnes Vicarage, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
1891. Mar. 19	*Elliot, Robert J. 111 Chatham street, Liverpool.
1891. Mar. 19	*Ellis, Rev. George, M.A. Almeda, Seabank road, Liscard, Cheshire.
1891. Jan. 22	Ellis, Thomas Ratcliffe. 18 King street, Wigan.

Date of Election.	
1889. Oct. 31	Esdaile, George. The Old Rectory, Platt-in-Rusholme, Manchester.
1886. Nov. 18	*Eshelby, H. Douglas, F.S.A. 80 Shrewsbury road, Oxton, Birkenhead, *Hon. Treasurer.*
1848. Nov. 23	Evans, Edward. Bronwylfa, Wrexham.
1878. Jan. 10	Fairclough, John. The Grove, Moore, near Warrington.
1871. Jan. 12	Ferguson, William, F.C.S., F.G S., F.R.S.E. Kilmundy House, near Mintlaw, N.B.
1891. Feb. 19	ffarington, Lieut.-Col. R. A. Mariebonne, Wigan.
	ffarington, Miss. Worden Hall, Preston.
1888. Nov. 15	*Finney, Charles F. Huyton House, Huyton.
1888. Mar. 8	Finney, Isaac A. Macclesfield.
1880. April 1	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A. The Heights, Rochdale.
1891. Nov. 5	*Fletcher, George. Batavia Buildings, Hackin's Hey, Liverpool.
1891. Mar. 19	*Fletcher, Mrs. Alfred. Allerton House, Woolton, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6	Formby, John. Formby Hall, Formby.
1891. Dec. 3	*Fox, John D. 29, Rocky lane, Anfield, Liverpool.
1857. May 7	Frackleton, Rev. S. S., A.M. Glenone Rectory, Port Glenone, County Antrim, Ireland.
1853. Dec. 15	Franks, Augustus Woollaston, C.B., M.A., F.R.S., V.P.S.A. British Museum, London.
1890. Nov. 6	*Gardner, Willoughby. C 18 Exchange bldgs., Liverpool.
1875. Jan. 7	Garnett, William. Quernmore Park, Lancaster.
1890. Jan. 9	*Gatehouse, Charles. Westwood, Noctorum, Birkenhead.
1880. Nov. 18	Gatty, A. S., M.A., F.S.A. York Herald, Herald's College, London.
1867. April 11	*Genn, John Hawke. Rutland House, Nicholas Road, Blundellsands.
1892. Dec. 1	*Gill, Chapple. Lower lee, Woolton.

Date of Election.	
1862. Mar. 6	Gladstone, Right Hon. William Ewart, M.P. Hawarden Castle, Flintshire, *Vice-President.*
1889. Feb. 21	*Gladstone, Robert. Harrington street, Liverpool.
1886. April 15	*Glazebrook, Thomas T. 7 Brunswick street, Liverpool.
1893. Nov. 2	*Goffey, Thomas. Amalfi, Blundellsands, Liverpool.
1881. Jan. 27	*Gray, Rev. Andrew E. P., M.A., F.S.A. The Rectory, Wallasey, Cheshire.
1889. Nov. 14	Gregson, Wm. Eugene. 43 Moor lane, Great Crosby.
1854. Aug. 31	Grenside, Rev. William Bent, M.A. Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
1892. Jan. 28	*Grierson, Geo. 12 Paradise street, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	*Grylls, A. C., M.A. Newton School, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
1874. Dec. 10	*Hance, E. M., LL.B. School Board Office, Dale street, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6	*Hannay, A. M. 5, Fenwick street, Liverpool.
1883. Jan. 25	*Hargreaves, John. Egerton Park, Rock Ferry.
1888. Nov. 29	*Hargreaves, John Price, M.A. The Moorlands, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1891. Feb. 5	*Harrison, Frederick J. Mersey chambers, Old churchyard, Liverpool.
1888. Nov. 15	*Hayman, Walter Atkin. 46 Prince's road, Liverpool.
1891. Feb. 5	Head, Robert. Congleton.
1848. Nov. 23	Heywood James, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S. 26 Kensington Palace gardens, London, W.
1872. Sept. 5	Hinmers, W. Cleveland House, Lancaster road, Eccles, Manchester.
1890. Nov. 6	*Holland, Edgar S. Stoneleigh, Liscard, Cheshire.
1891. Nov. 5	*Holland, Walter. Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1872. Jan. 11	*Holme, James. 10 Huskisson street, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 19	Hope, Thomas H. The Laburnums, Atherton, Manchester.

Date of Election.	
1890. Feb. 20	*Hornby, Hugh Frederick. Sandown Lodge, Wavertree, Liverpool.
1889. Oct. 31	Hosack, James. Ellerslie, Kirkcudbright.
1888. Dec. 13	Hovenden, Robert, F.S.A. Heathcote, Park Hill road, Croydon.
1893. Nov. 2	*Hudson, R. W. Bidston court, Bidston, Cheshire.
1890. Jan. 23	Hughes, George. Metropolitan Bank, Oxford.
1888. Nov. 29	*Hughes, John. Wynnstay, Aigburth drive, Liverpool.
1887. Mar. 24	Hutton, Wm. L. "*Advertiser*" Office, Ormskirk.
1891. Nov. 5	Ireland, National Library of, c/o Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin.
1893. Nov. 2	*Irven, Mrs. John D. The Cottage, Bidston, Birkenhead.
1890. Nov. 6	*Irvine, Wm. Fergusson. 18 Devonshire road, Claughton, Birkenhead, *Hon. Assistant Secretary*.
1889. Oct. 31	*Ismay, Thomas Henry. Dawpool, Birkenhead.
1882.	James, Francis. 190 Cromwell road, London, S.W.
1891. Feb. 5	Jeans, William Dampier. Great Sankey, Warrington.
1888. Nov. 1	Johnson, J. H. West Lindeth, Silverdale, Carnforth.
1888. Feb. 9	*Joynson, Tertius. Long View, Liscard, Birkenhead.
1890. Nov. 6	Kent-Green, Mrs. Edward. Claughton Rectory, Lancaster.
1891. Feb. 5	Kenyon, Rev. the Hon. W. T., M.A. Malpas Rectory, Cheshire.
1890. Nov. 6	*Kerfoot-Jones, J. 32 Rodney street, Liverpool.
1888. Nov. 29	*Kidman, James, M.A. 17 Brompton avenue, Liverpool.
1863. Nov. 5	*King, John Thomson. 4 Clayton square, Liverpool.
1888. Nov. 15	Knowles, Peter. Warrington.
1872. April 4	Lathom, The Earl of. Lathom House, Ormskirk, *Vice-President*.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1888. Nov. 29 Lawrence, William Frederick, M.A., M.P. Cowesfield House, Salisbury.

1889. Feb. 7 *Layton, George. 9 Fenwick street, Liverpool.

1889. Mar. 7 Leeds, Free Public Library of. Leeds.

1892. Nov. 3 *Leeman, William. 5 Prospect vale, Fairfield, Liverpool.

1889. Mar. 7 *Leeming, William. Alder Hey, West Derby, Liverpool.

1887. Dec. 1 *Leslie, Frank John. 15 Union court, Castle street, Liverpool.

1892. Mar. 10 *Lever, James Darcy. Thornton House, Thornton Hough, Cheshire.

1892. Feb. 25 *Lever, William Hesketh. Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Cheshire.

1891. Nov. 5 Letts, Rev. Ernest F., M.A. Newton Heath Rectory, Manchester.

1889. Feb. 7 *Lister, James. Basil Grange, West Derby.

Liverpool Free Public Library. William Brown Street, Liverpool.

1888. Nov. 1 *Liverpool Library (Lyceum). Bold street, Liverpool.

1893. Nov. 2 *Livesey, John. 10 Water street, Liverpool.

1889. Oct. 31 London, Library of the Corporation of. (Charles Welch, Librarian.) Guildhall, London, E.C.

1892. Feb. 25 *Lyell, George James. The Orchard, Pensby, Birkenhead.

1891. Nov. 5 Mainwaring, Colonel Charles Salusbury, Galtfaenan, Trefnant, R. S. O., N. Wales.

1888. Feb. 9 MARSHALL, GEORGE WILLIAM, LL.D., F.S.A., *Rouge Croix*. College of Arms, Queen Victoria street, London, E.C.

1891. Feb. 19 Mayler, William. 113 Mostyn street, Llandudno.

1858. April 15 *McInnes, John. Heath Bank, Breck road, Wallasey.

1889. Mar. 7 *McCubbin, Hugh. Mill Bank House, West Derby.

1887. Feb. 10 *McKay, Professor, M.A. University College, Liverpool.

Date of Election.	
1888. Mar. 22	Manchester Free Reference Library. King street, Manchester.
1888. Nov. 1	*Mansergh, Jas. Fleming. Clougha, Hargreaves road, Sefton park, Liverpool.
1874. Feb. 18	*Mawdsley, James Platt. 4 Castle street, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6	*Meade-King, Richard R. Sandfield park, West Derby.
1890. Nov. 6	Molyneux, Lt.-Col. Edmund. Warren Lodge, Wokingham, Berks.
1892. Nov. 3	*Morgan, Joseph B. Stand House, Childwall, Liverpool.
1885. Mar. 19	*Morton, Thomas Naylor. 20 Hick's road, Seaforth, *Hon. Assistant Secretary.*
1888. Nov. 1	Myres, T. Harrison. 15 Chapel street, Preston.
1890. Feb. 20	*Naylor, John. Streatham Cottage, Woolton.
1857. Jan. 15	Naylor, Richard Christopher. Kelmarsh Hall, Northampton.
1893. Feb. 9	Newberry Library. Chicago, U.S.A.
1893. Jan. 12	Newstead, George C. Swanpool lane, Aughton.
1874. Dec. 10	Nicholson, Capt. Edward J. 9 Raby place, Bath.
1888. Nov. 1	Norcliffe, Rev. Charles Best, M.A. Langton Hall, Malton, Yorkshire.
1889. Mar. 7	Norris, Edward S. Clifton Villas, Llanelly.
1891. Feb. 5	*Oakshott, Thomas W. Derby House, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
1881. Dec. 15	Odgers, Rev. James Edwin, M.A., Fellow of University College, London. Bowdon, Cheshire.
1889. Feb. 7	Owen, William. Cairo street Chambers, Warrington.
1888. Mar. 22	Owens' College, c/o J. E. Cornish, 16 St. Ann's square, Manchester.
1891. Dec. 17	Parker, Major John W. R. Carr Lodge, Horbury, Wakefield.
1891. Nov. 5	Park-Yates, Mrs. Ince Hall, Chester.
1891. Feb. 5	Pearson, George. Southside, Wilmslow, Cheshire.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1888. Nov. 15 PEARSON, THOMAS H. Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.

1890. Nov. 6 *Peet, Henry, F.S.A. 97 Mount Pleasant.

1860. Mar. 21 PETTY, THOMAS SHAW. 128 Mount street, London, W.

1877. Dec. 13 Pierpoint, Robert, M.A., M.P. St. Austin's, Warrington.

1890. Dec. 18 Pilkington, Sir George A., Knt. Belle Vue, Lord street West, Southport.

1886. Nov. 18 *Pilkington, Lieut.-Colonel John. Rookwood, Sandown Park, Wavertree.

1889. Oct. 31 *Poole, Sir James, Knt. Abercromby square, Liverpool.

1891. Jan. 8 Porter George. Fern Bank, Blackburn.

1878. Feb. 7 *Potter, Charles. 101 Miles street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, *Hon. Curator.*

1887. Mar. 24 Powell, Rev. Edward. Lydiate, Maghull.

1890. Feb. 20 *Prentice, John George. 62 Shrewsbury road, Birkenhead.

1892. Feb. 11 *Price, William F. Myers road West, Great Crosby.

1892. Nov. 3 Pritt, Miss G. A. Lonsdale. Saddlewood, Leamington.

1889. Feb. 21 *Quiggin, John M. 8 Harrington street, Liverpool.

1889. Oct. 31 *Radcliffe, Sir David, Knt. Thurstaston Hall, Birkenhead.

1888. Feb. 9 *Radcliffe, Frederick M. 9 Cook street, Liverpool.

1879. Jan. 8 *Radcliffe, Richard Duncan, M.A., F.S.A., Darley, Old Swan, Liverpool, *Hon. Secretary.*

1892. Nov. 3 Radclyffe, C. R. Eustace (1st Life Guards) The Hyde, Wareham, Dorset.

1879. Dec. 11 *Rathbone, Philip Henry. Greenbank Cottage Wavertree, Liverpool.

1874. Dec. 10 *Rathbone, Samuel Greg. Croxteth drive, Sefton park, Liverpool.

1889. April 4 *Read, Joseph F. 77A Lord street, Liverpool.

1891. Feb. 5 Reynolds, Rev. Charles L., M.A. Wray Vicarage, Lancaster.

1890. Jan. 23 *Rhind, James. Sweeting street, Liverpool.

Date of Election.	
1891. Mar. 19	*Richardson, Richard T. Ullet road, Liverpool.
1889. Oct. 31	*Ridgway, Ebenezer. Huyton, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	Ridgway, John Clare. Grappenhall lodge, near Warrington.
1891. Dec. 17	Rigg, George Wilson. Golborne.
1855. Dec. 20	Robin, Rev. P. R., M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester. Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
1890. Nov. 6	*Robinson, Arthur Muschamp. Lorne road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
1891. Nov. 5	*Robinson, Lieut.-Col. Herbert J. Aymestry Court, Woolton.
1876. April 20	Roper, William O. Eadenbeck, Lancaster.
1891. Nov. 5	*Roscoe, James. Kirkby.
1889. Oct. 31	Royds, Clement Molyneux. Greenhill, Rochdale.
1888. Nov. 29	*Russell, Sir Edward R , Knt. 6 Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	*Russell, Walter, B.A. 26, Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1870. Nov. 3	*Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A. Heather Lea, Claughton, Birkenhead, *Vice-President.*
1888. Dec. 13	Rylands, John. Thelwall Grange, Warrington.
1854. Dec. 13	Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.S.A., F.L.S., M.R.I.A. Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington, *Vice-President.*
1874. Dec. 10	Rylands, William Harry, F.S.A. Society of Biblical Archæology, 37 Great Russell street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.
1891. Feb. 19	Ryland, John William. Rowington, Warwick.
1890. Nov. 6	*Ryley, Thomas Cropper. 19 Sweeting street, Liverpool.
1888. Mar. 22	St. Helens Free Public Library. St. Helens.
1872. Mar. 21	Salisbury, The Marquess of, K.G. Hatfield, Herts.
1888. Nov. 15	Sandeman, Lieut.-Col. John Glas, Sub-Officer H.M. Hon. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. 24 Cambridge square, London, W.
1891. Nov. 19	Sanders, Rev. Francis, M.A. Hoylake Vicarage, Cheshire.

Date of Election.	
1889. Jan. 10	*Scholefield, Joshua William. 33 Pembroke road, Bootle.
1872. Sept. 5	*Sefton, The Earl of, K.G., Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire. Croxteth Hall, Liverpool, *Vice-President.*
1893. Nov. 2	*Shallcross, Thomas Myddleton. 25 Lord street, Liverpool.
1853. June 2	Sharp, William. 29 Albert Gate, Hyde Park, London.
1891. Nov. 5	Shaw, Giles. 72 Manchester road, Oldham.
1891. Feb. 19	*Shute, Arthur. Wellfield place, Park road, Liverpool.
1891. Feb. 19	*Sill, T. Byrne. 28 Wellington road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1889. Oct. 31	Simpson, Stephen, Jun. East Cliff House, Preston.
1892. Nov. 3	*Smith, Rev. Frederick. Island road, Garston.
1893. Jan. 12	*Springmann, Miss. Drachenfels, West Derby.
1893. Jan. 22	*Springmann, Paul. 9 Fenwick street, Liverpool.
1880. April 1	Stanning, Rev. Joseph Heaton, M.A. The Vicarage, Leigh, Lancashire.
1891. Feb. 5	Stapleton-Bretherton, Frederick. Rainhill Hall, Rainhill.
1884. Nov. 13	Starkie, Lieut.-Colonel Le Gendre Nicholas. Huntroyde, Burnley.
1889. Feb. 7	*Stevens, Charles E. 14 Castle street, Liverpool.
1876. April 6	*Stewart, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Hon. Canon of Liverpool. 29 Sandon street, Liverpool, *Vice-President.*
1890. Nov. 6	*Stewart, Rev. Percy, M.A. The Rectory, West Derby.
	Stockport Free Public Library. Stockport.
1893. Nov. 2	Stoner, Thomas. The Orchard, Lathom, Ormskirk.
1891. Nov. 5	Stonyhurst College, Rev. the Rector of, S.J. Blackburn.
1887. Jan. 20	Storey, Sir Thos. Westfield House, Lancaster.
1891. Mar. 19	Stubs, Peter. Blaisdon Hall, Newnham, Gloucestershire.

Date of Election.	
1893. Mar. 9	Stuttard, Thomas. Lawnswood, Swinton park, Manchester.
1888. Nov. 15	Sulley, Philip, 14 Waterloo place, Edinburgh.
1889. Feb. 7	*Taylor, Francis Willis. 9 Cook street, Liverpool.
1889. April 4	Taylor, Henry. Braeside, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells.
1872. Sept. 5	Taylor, James. Rencombe, Gloucestershire.
1887. Feb. 10	Tempest, Mrs. Arthur Cecil. Coleby Hall, Lincoln.
1893. Jan. 12.	*Temple, John. Mossley Bank, Elmswood road, Aigburth.
1891. Dec. 17	*Thomas, Walter A. New Hall, Neston, Cheshire.
1889. Feb. 21	*Thompson, Edward P. Thingwall, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6	*Thompson, John. 11 Bentley road, Liverpool.
1891. Jan. 8	Thompson-Yates, Rev. S. A., M.A. 45 Phillimore Gardens, London, W.
1889. Oct. 31	*Thornely, Jas. L. 5 Fenwick street, Liverpool.
1867. Jan. 17	Thorp, Henry. Alderhurst, Marlborough road, Sale, Manchester.
1886. Nov. 1	Threlfall, Henry S. 12 London street, Southport.
1888. Feb. 23	Tonge, Rev. Rich., M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester. 51 South King street, Manchester.
1890. Nov. 6	Tonge, William Asheton. Alderley Edge.
1888. Feb. 23	Toulmin, John. "*Guardian*" Office, Preston.
1889. Oct. 31	*Turton, Fletcher Thomas. Municipal Buildings, Liverpool.
1887. Jan. 20	Unwin, John. Endcliffe Lodge, Southport.
1890. Dec. 18	*Van Gruisen, Nicholas. 27 Bold street, Liverpool.
1848. Nov. 23	Varty, Thomas. Stag Stones, Penrith.
1872. Dec. 12	Veevers, R. Woningworth, Fulwood Park, Preston.
1873. Dec. 11	Waddington, W. A. 16 Piccadilly road, Burnley.
1889. Oct. 31	*Wainwright, Thos. 21 Leigh street, Liverpool.

Date of Election.	
1887. Dec. 15	Ward, J. Langfield, M.A. Grammar School, Burnley.
1892. Nov. 3	Warrington Museum, Warrington.
1849. Feb. 1	*Webster, George. 6 York Buildings, Dale street, Liverpool.
1891. Mar. 5.	Weeks, W. Self. Clitheroe.
1888. Dec. 13	Weldon, William Henry, *Windsor Herald.* College of Arms, London, E.C.
1856. Jan. 3	Welton, Thomas A. Rectory Grove House, Clapham Old Town, London, S.W.
1862. Mar. 13	Westminster, The Duke of, K.G., Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire. Eaton Hall, Chester, *Vice-President.*
1891. Feb. 5	White, Rev. W. Stuart, M.A. Esh Vicarage, Durham.
1889. Jan. 10	Wigan Free Library, Wigan.
1892. Dec. 15	Williams, Rev. J. Wright, M.A. Farnworth Vicarage, Widnes.
1888. Nov. 29	*Willox, John Archibald, M.P. 9 Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1892. Mar. 24	*Wilson, C. F. B. 24 Prince's avenue, Liverpool.
1885. Nov. 26	*Wilson, W. Forshaw. 20 Croxteth road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
1865. Dec. 7	Wood, Richard Henry, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. Penrhos House, Rugby.
1891. Nov. 19	Woodhouse, Miss E. D. Burghill Court, Hereford.
1888. Dec. 13	Woods, Sir Albert William, C.B., F.S.A., *Garter King of Arms.* College of Arms, London, E.C.
1888. Nov. 29	Worsley, James E., F.S.A. Winwick, Newton-le-Willows.
1892. Nov. 3	Worsley, Philip J. Rodney Lodge, Clifton, Bristol.
1892. Jan. 18	*Wynne, George. *Mercury* office, Liverpool.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
1885. Nov. 26	*Atherton, Webster. 8 Victoria park, Walton.
1886. Dec. 2	*Dixon, James. 27 Peveril street, Walton.
1893. Nov. 30	Dolan, Dom Gilbert, O.S B. 4 Great Ormond street, London, W.C.
1889. Dec. 12	Grazebrook, George, F.S.A. Sudbury, Harrow.
1888. Mar. 8	*Shaw, George Thomas. Athenæum, Church street, Liverpool, *Hon. Librarian.*
1888. Feb. 9	*Watts, Augustine, M.A. 67 Lord street, Liverpool.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1854. Sept. 27	Babington, Charles Cardale, F.R.S., F.S.A. 5 Brookside, Cambridge.
1855. Feb. 1	Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A. The Roos, Saffron-Walden, Essex.
1875. Jan. 7	Coughtrey, Millen. London street, Otago, New Zealand.
1880. Oct. 5	Dean, John Ward. 18 Somerset street, Boston, Mass., United States of America.
1870. Sept. 13	Hooker, Sir Joseph Dalton, C.B. The Camp, Sunningdale, Berkshire.
1870. Sept. 13	Huxley, Thomas Henry, LL.D., F.R.S. 4 Marlborough place, St. John's Wood, London.
1854. Sept. 27	Latham, R. Gordon, M.D. 96 Disraeli road, Putney, London.
1870. Sept. 13	Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. High Elms, Hayes, Beckenham, Kent.
1852. Dec. 9	MacAdam, Robert. 18 College square East, Belfast.
1891. Dec. 3	Oxford, the Lord Bishop of, F.S.A. Cuddesdon Palace, Oxford, *Vice-President.*
1880. Oct. 5	Ruskin, John, LL.D. Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire, *Vice-President.*
1870. Sept. 13	Stokes, Sir George Gabriel, Bart., M.P., P.R.S. LL.D. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

LIST OF SOCIETIES IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Society of Antiquaries of London.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland.

Royal Archæological Institute, London.

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Kent Archæological Society.

Somersetshire Archæological Society.

Sussex Archæological Society.

Chester Archæological Society.

Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society.

Leicestershire Archæological Society.

Yorkshire Antiquarian and Topographical Association.

Shropshire Archæological Society.

Architectural and Archæological Society of Lincoln and Notts.

Manchester Literary Club.

TRANSACTIONS.

AN ACCOUNT OF WALLASEY, BASED ON THAT OF MR. ROBINSON, SCHOOLMASTER THERE, 1720; WITH NOTES ON THE PARISH, AND EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS.

By W. C. Ashby Pritt.

Read 14th January, 1892.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ancient Parish of Wallasey consists of that triangular peninsula containing the high land at the N.E. corner of Wirral and a low, flat strip of grass land and sandhill, stretching for two or three miles westward to Leasowe Castle, or Mockbeggar Hall, a racing box dating back about three hundred years, and originally called "The New Hall." The western boundary of the castle grounds forms the only land boundary of the parish, and that of only a few hundred yards; the other boundaries being the "Vergivian" Sea (Webb's *Itinerary*, in King's *Vale Royal*) on the north, and the River Mersey on the east; the third side of the triangle being formed by the Wallasey Pool, and its small feeder, the River

Fender. In the Ordnance Survey maps, that branch of the stream rising near Grange, and forming the boundary between Wallasey and Bidston, is called the Birkett; and that flowing under the western slope of Bidston Hill, the Fender; though the names are applied indiscriminately by the country folk.

I will leave to geologists and philologists the vexed question as to whether Wallasey[1] has or has not been an island; but before the draining of the Moss, and the conversion of the Pool into the Great Float, the means of communication between the parish and the outside world were very limited. During the winter, except in frost, the shortest land exit—that across the Marsh—was quite impassable, and the ford at Poolton could only be used at low water; the high road being that past Leasowe Castle and through Moreton to Neston, or through Bidston to Birkenhead.

But if the communications were bad fifty years ago, two hundred and fifty years ago they were worse; and "island" would not be an inappropriate term to apply to the parish. The delays and dangers in crossing the Mersey at Seacombe appear by the extract from the registers, quoted in a paper by Mr. E. M. Hance, in vol. xxxv of these *Transactions*, in reference to the drowning of four persons, in a boat loaded with coals, belonging to Mr. Bunbury, on the 22nd November, 1673; and by another entry, in the churchwardens' accounts for 1679, of an expenditure of 2*s.* 6*d.* "at Liv[r]poole, "being wind bound 2 dayes." Robinson mentions "the flatt land called the Moss, on which the salt "tide flows"; and such field-names as Salt Ley field (W. 155, 174), Salt Croft (W. 156), Salty field

[1] "Wealas-ieg"—the Island of the Welsh, or strangers, as distinguished from the invading Saxons—is the generally accepted derivation.

(W. 171-2), and Salt Ley Croft (W. 287),[2] situated between the banks of the Fender and the village of Wallasey, show that, at times, the tide flowed further inland from the Pool than at present. Before the building of the Leasowe Embankment, in 1830, the tide frequently washed over the low lands, and the inhabitants of Lingham, the farm behind Leasowe Lighthouse, were overflowed three years consecutively.[3]

Two centuries ago, all land transport and communication with the outside world would be by horse or boat, and several entries in the churchwardens' accounts point to the fact of heavy goods being carried by pack-horses, especially those in 1687—"to 9 barrells of Lyme at 2^s 1^d p. barrell, "00 : 18 : 09"; "to the men that brought it all "night and 9 horses, 00 : 03 : 00"—and in 1694, when five barrels of "Lyme" were bought for church use, the Wardens expended fourpence "to "Welchmen's horses in the Ch : Yard whilst we "unlightened ye Lyme." A startling entry occurs in the register of burials, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, that of the burial of three Welshmen (giving names) "which were "shipwrecked and starved to death on Wallasey "sandhills."[4]

Before the enclosure of the common lands, early in the present century, (the first "improvements," such as the Birkenhead Docks and the Great Float and the building of New Brighton, dating back

[2] The numbers after the field-names throughout this paper refer to the numbers in the tithe maps and lists, and the letters to the Townships—W., Wallasey; L., Liscard; P., Poolton-cum-Seacombe.

[3] A terrier of Liscard Township, in possession of the Rector, mentions lands "under ye level of ye tide"; referring to several fields on the shores of the Pool. The document is undated, but is apparently of about the middle of the last century.

[4] I have no note of this entry, and quote from memory. This paper is, I regret, far from complete; writing, as I am, in Southern India, and with no opportunities of reference, or of verifying my references.

about fifty years,) the parish of Wallasey was a very different place from the present mixture of town and country:—The Hose,[5] the whole of the country north of a line drawn from, say, the Magazines to the north end of Wallasey Village ("townesend"), being sandhill and rough, common land, of which a few patches still remain, covered with gorse and heather, and the home of innumerable rabbits, as also of the "foulmartes," "foxis," "headghoggs," and kites, for the slaying of which the churchwardens gave numerous rewards; The Leasowes,[6] all the land west of Wallasey town, as far as Leasowe Castle, and lying between the Moss and the Sandhills, soft, springy turf on a sandy soil, on which the races were held—"where lie those fair sands or plains "upon the shore of the sea, which, for the "fitness for such a purpose, allure the gentlemen "and others oft to appoint great matches, and "venture no small sums in trying the swiftness of "their horses" (Webb's *Itinerary of Wirral;* quoted by Ormerod); The Breck, rough, rocky ground, lying along the west slope of Wallasey Hill, from the church to Poolton, the Little Breck being to the north of the church; these, together with some other smaller patches of common near Liscard, at Seacombe, and near the Pool, all open and unenclosed, occupied a large portion of the parish; the remainder being under cultivation.

The "town" of Wallasey, as it is now called, or, as it used to be, Kirkby-Walley, (both names being spelt in many different ways,) a long, straggling village, at the foot of Wallasey Hill, was, until a few years ago, less changed than the

5 "Liscard Hoes." See *Appendix E.* Liscard Common is stated to have contained 416 acres in 1809, the date of the Enclosure Act.

6 This name is still used in Cheshire as a common noun, meaning pasture or meadow.

rest of the parish. Many old buildings still exist, and some of the thatched cottages must be of a great age. The old "post and pan" house, at the foot of the church hill, opposite to the "Cheshire Cheese," has been spoilt by injudicious painting, and by a portion of the old-fashioned garden having been cut off. Above the "Cheshire Cheese," on the side of the hill, is the Rectory house; and above that stood the Old Hall, a stone building, of a type common in Wirral, with square mullioned windows and stone copings to the gables. A stone originally over the door, now in the Rectory garden, bears this inscription, WILLIAM MEOLESQ 1604 I.B. The Hall was pulled down by Rector Haggitt in 1862-3, the materials being used to enlarge the Rectory. The old Church, of which the tower alone now exists, stood about fifty yards or so south of the present church.[7]

Tradition says that a part of the old "Cheshire Cheese," now pulled down, was honoured by a visit from King William, of "pious" memory, on the occasion of his departure for Ireland, when his army was encamped on the Leasowes, and his "Charles" galleys' men broke the Weeping Cross into three pieces. The Village Cross[8] probably stood near this corner, where the main street meets "the Gutter" (now School Lane), and in front of the old "post and pan" cottage.

The "Black Horse" Inn is dated $\frac{D.}{W.M.}$ 1722; evidently being built for the accommodation of "the gentlemen and others" who wished to try their horses on the Leasowes, and named perhaps after some noted winner.[9]

7 The illustration of Wallasey Church in Mason and Hunt's *Birkenhead Priory* shows the position of these buildings very well, as also does Mr. Edward W. Cox's drawing, which forms one of the illustrations to this paper.

8 "Rich: Hill p. Cross" is mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts, 1692.

9 An old house with a modern face, standing on the opposite side of the village street, bears the modern inscription, in Old English lettering—

Stone House Erected A.D. 1693.

At the far end of the town, and rather away from the road, stands an almost ruined house, *sans* doors, *sans* windows, *sans* everything, now called Sandfield Hall, but popularly known as "The King's House," and supposed to have been a racing stable. An old plate, of early Staffordshire ware, was found here a few years ago, bearing the following arms in blue:—*A chevron between three fishes haurient;* the shield being surmounted by an esquire's helmet, with wreath and mantling but no crest. The lines on the chevron *may* represent gules, but that is doubtful. The arms do not belong to any local family.

Liscard Village, until fifty or sixty years ago, consisted of a cluster of farmhouses, some of the older ones still remaining, several being dated. One stone house, with mullioned windows, and with a barn adjoining, stands flush with the street at the point where Manor Road branches from Rake Lane, "the Great Lane leading from the town to the Hose," and is dated $_{J}^{U}{}_{\&J}$ 1729; the U probably standing for Urmston. Liscard Terrace, on the opposite side of the road, was built by the Deans, and is dated $_{J}^{D}{}_{\&M}$ 1732. At the point where the two roads divide was the village horsepond, with trees overhanging, and with the village smithy by its side. On the road to Wallasey, near the "Boot" Inn, there was a toll-bar; and on the road to Seacombe, and opposite to the end of Mill Lane, stood an old house, belonging to the John Hough against whom the "Rabbit Deed" *(Appendix E)* was framed.

Mill Lane leads from Liscard to Poolton, then a little hamlet on the banks of the Pool, the port of in Wallasey, and containing the oldest dated house in the parish, that of the Birds, $_{W}^{B}{}_{M}$ 1627. Poolton Manor house is now of no interest. Robinson calls it "Wally's lately Litherlands, but now Mr. Main-

"waring's Hall." The old circular pinfold, and the Pool Inn, both now pulled down, were very picturesque. The mill, which stood near Mill Lane and Mill Hey (P. 292), has not existed within living memory.

Seacombe was merely a small cluster of cottages—one or two old ones still standing—near the ferry, and, with some isolated farms and cottages and a few fishermen's huts at the Magazines and Rock Point, completes the round of the parish.

The Parish is divided into three townships, Poolton-cum-Seacombe, the southern portion, being divided from the other two by a line running from the Pool, near Poolton, up Mill Lane to the Water-tower, and then across the fields and down Church Street to Egremont Ferry; Wallasey (west) and Liscard (east) being parted by a line from the Water-tower, past the "Boot" inn, along Sea View Road to the Captain's Pit,[10] over Stone Bark Hill, and so to the sea.[11]

LOCAL NOMENCLATURE.

There are many interesting field names in the parish, in addition to those mentioned by Robinson; but a simple list is of little interest, and I am not prepared to go into derivations.[12] I may, however, mention one or two other names in the place. Under that point of sandstone rock jutting out towards the sea, about one mile west of New Brighton, and known as the Red Noses, is a cave called the Worm's Hole; is this the dwelling-place of some traditionary dragon, or a reminiscence of the visits of the Norsemen, with their long serpents?

[10] This pit—the "marle pit in Kirby Sytch" of Robinson—takes its name from the drowning of a drunken captain, who jumped into it with his wife, as she was taking him home. The name is given in the Parish Maps, L. 524.

[11] See Note 25.

[12] See *Appendix G—Field Names.*

The name is now all but forgotten. The fishermen's huts at that corner of the parish where New Brighton now stands were called Rock Point, a name now swallowed up in that of the modern watering-place, though still borne by a house not far from the pier. Perch Rock, the outer rock of this point, also called the Black Rock, on which the Perch or Beacon formerly stood, is now occupied by the Lighthouse and Fort. The Magazines, where the sheds stood in which the powder now kept in hulks at Eastham was formerly stored, rejoiced not many years ago in the nick-name of Hell's Broo, from the character of the fisher-folk living there. About half a mile further along the shore, and in the direction of Egremont Ferry, stood a cottage called the White House, also known as Mother Redcap's, having a large cellar, and bearing the evil reputation of having been a great rendezvous for privateersmen and smugglers. Codling and Guinea Gaps, between Egremont and Seacombe ferries, are names of little interest, the latter dating back to some 40 years ago, when a number of guineas of William III's time were found in the sand there, together with a sword and, I believe, a skeleton.

"The utmost jutting Land hereaway called Out-"hill," mentioned by Robinson, I take to mean the high land above New Brighton, the highest point in the parish, about 180 feet above the sea, and then part of the Hose. The present magnificent view of land and sea was doubtless enhanced by its then wild surroundings, the heath, gorse, and rock of Liscard Hoes, unobscured by the smoke of Liverpool; and it must have been with mingled admiration and curiosity that the "Conquerors of "Great Britain" cried out, on arriving at "Outhill," "Whose or what Sea is that?" and with pride that the "Incolants" replied "'Twas Wally's Sea." (See Notes 1 and 16.)

HENRY ROBINSON.

"Henry, the son of Thomas Robinson alias "Lewe Baptized ye first day of Aprill," 1640, in Wallasey Parish Church, must have been for very many years a familiar figure in Wallasey. For upwards of half a century Henry Robinson was master of the Free Grammar School, having been appointed within a few years after the Restoration, and having held the post until his death in 1727.

According to the following extract from the Registers, men who were 74 years of age at the time of Robinson's death were at the school when he was first installed in his office, when they would be 10 or 12 years old; so that the date of his appointment would be 1663-65, or thereabouts.

"Novr 23, 1727.

"We whose names are subscribed being mett according to "notice given in the church on Sunday last in a Vestry or Parish "meeting more particularly intended to Supply the school with a "fit master in the Room of Henry Robinson Late Master "deceas'd & some Questions arising—as to the Right of Nomina- "tion of a master—there not appearing any Writeing or Record "to direct us therein—Wee have thought fit by a majority Present "to Agree with Mr Charles Aldcroft the Minister of the Parish "in appointing Mr Isaac Hyde the Curate to be the Master of "the Gramar School in this Parish & doing his Duty therein to "Entitle him hereby to all Profits and Priviledges belonging to "the same & we do think Proper for the Guidance or direction "in any future Occasion to put in Writing What Evidence Appeared "to us relating to the Right of Nominacon of the Master of the "school.

"John Wilson a Parishoner & ch Warden aged ab^t^ fifty-six "Says—that Enquiring of the old Master in his Sickness he told "him he was put in by Parson Scholes,[13] but Mrs Meoles & her "Son brought him to the School.

"Joseph Kennion a Parishioner aged about seventy-four years "Says—That he was in the school when the Late Mr Robinson "was first put in to be the Master. & That the Heads of the

[13] Since writing the above I find that Geo. Scholes was Curate in the year 1662 and Rd. Redmayne in the year 1664. Robinson's appointment must therefore have been previous to the latter date, if "Parson Scoles" had a hand in "putting him in."

"Parish brought him to the School & placed him there and "p̃'ticularly Mrs. Meoles—he remembers one Mr Scoles, the "master before Mr Robinson, & he was hired by the Parish. "Who had before turned out Mr Malpas for Faults.

"Thomas Sherlock a Parishoner aged seventy-four Says—he "knew ye Late Master Robinson put into this place by the "Parish p̃'ticularly Mrs Meoles and her Son, Mr Letherland, "Thomas Johnson & Peter Pemberton Who were Trusees for "the School Money—

"Ed^d^ Mainwaring.
"C. Bunbury.
"Tho Meoles.
"Joseph Bird.
"Charles Pemberton.
"Thomas + Willson.
His mark.
"Joshua Young.
"Thomas + Sherlock.
His mark.
"Peter Lunt.
"Joseph + Kenyon.
His mark.
"Tho: Strong."

"Cha: Aldcroft, Rec^r^
"John Wilson, C.W."

Robinson was a regular attendant at the vestry meetings, and many of the entries concerning parish business bear his signature. There are a good many specimens of his handwriting in the parish books, in transcripts of deeds and agreements, notes on the school-money, and in one case in a most interesting historical memorandum in reference to the bells. In 1687, 6*s*. was paid "to "the Schoolmaster by order of the p'sh at Tho. "Slades in Augt Last for ballanseing acc^ts^ of poors "money & registring Notes."

ORIGIN OF THE "ACCOUNT OF WALLAZEY."

His "Account of Wallazey" was written in 1720, in a letter to Mr. Charles Bunbury, a gentleman living somewhere between Wallasey and Poolton, and whose signature frequently appears in the Registers, notably in the extract just quoted. This letter was communicated to Ormerod by the Rev.

A. Campbell, Rector from 1814 to 1829, but the copy following is from a transcript now in possession of the present Rector, which was copied from one belonging to the family of the late Lady of the Manor, Mrs. Maddock, whose genial manner of recounting her 90 years' recollections of Wallasey will always be remembered with interest and affection by those who knew her.[14]

Ormerod also mentions that "Robinson wrote a "History of Wallasey, remaining in the church "chest, detailing many fabulous stories respecting "the parish"; but of this history nothing is known, unfortunately, nor of the original of the letter to Mr. Bunbury.

There are two other entries in the Registers concerning Robinson, in addition to those already quoted :—

"Henry Robinson and [H]ester Wilson were canonically "married April 21—72 by License,"—and

"Buried Nov: 6, 1727, Mr Henry Robinson of Liscard, School-"Master."

There is also in the books the following extract from his Will :—

"May 1st 1729.

"A Transcript of a Clause of Mr Robinson's Will, viz.: Itẽ: "I leave seven pounds to be manag'd & put to use by the Minister "& Church Warden & Parish Clark for the time being for Ever, "to the Intent that the Interest of forty Shillings be Yearly "employ'd to keep those Letters over the Passage into the little "Alley legible, or to put them into a frame of Wood, & whats

14 In reference to this copy, Miss Maddock writes to me as follows:— "The copy of Robinson's Account was taken from an old manuscript book "of my grandfather's, not written by himself, but of an earlier date, and the "Chancellor's [Chancellor Espin, late rector] copy contains all that was in "the manuscript book; the original is in the Wallasey Parish Chest (I "believe), so that you and Mr. Gray will know all about it already. As to "the traditions, I know very little. My grandfather remembered *two* light-"houses—either washed away or become unsafe—at Leasowe before the "present one was built further inland; these must of course have been before "the embankment was made, and I have often heard my mother say how "pretty it was before the commons were enclosed. A great part of the road "from Seacombe to Liscard was over the common, and even in my own "memory Wallasey Pool was a pretty spot."

"left of doing So to treat themselves with every Whitson-Tuesday "Yearly; & the Interest of the afores[d] Seven pound, i.e. of four "pound to be Yearly distributed to Eight poor people, of which "the Clark for the time being may be one, if he pleases, for "calling them together, and let them be parish-born poor, and be "given them by Sixpence a piece, at my Grave place, and not "elsewhere, and treat themselves with the rest for their labour: "But when the money is not set forth on Interest, the Legacies "aforesaid to cease, till they can procure a place for it;—but if "they neglect to improve the same to the Uses afores[d], then my "farther Will and pleasure is that the Said Seven pound, Shall be "for Jonathan Dean, and his Heirs. . . . . "

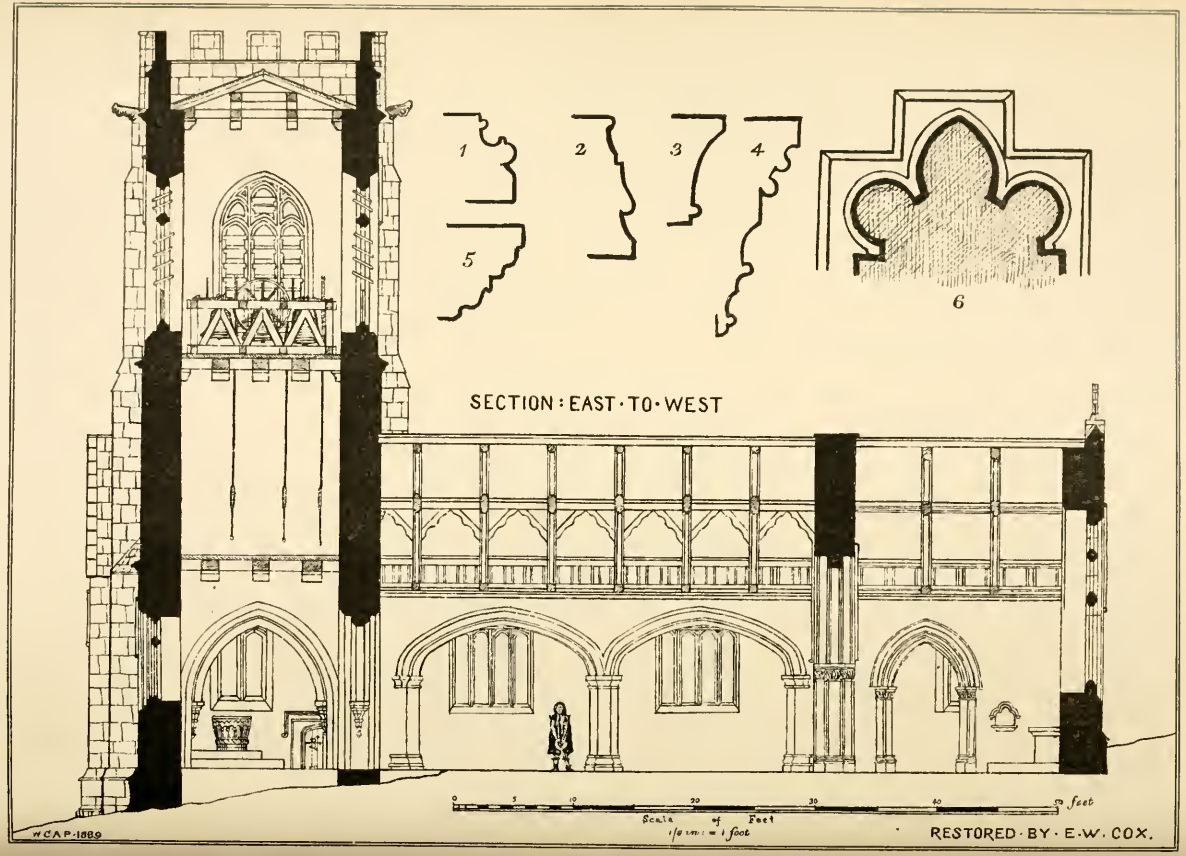
I always fancy that Goldsmith's schoolmaster in *The Deserted Village* must be an apt description of our friend Robinson—a genial, kindly, but somewhat pedantic old man, with a good opinion of his own learning, the oracle and chronicler of the parish.

The persons mentioned in the heading to the following "Account" are—Thomas Glover, appointed to the rectory of West Kirby by Charles I, in 1631, and sequestered and deprived for "delinquency" in 1643 (see "The Ancient Parish of West Kirby," by the late Mr. Chas. Brown: *Trans. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxxvii, p. 41); Richard Watt, probably the "Richarde Watt Christned the X August," 1591, who would be about 50 years of age at the time of Robinson's birth; Robert Wilson, may be the one of that name baptized 26 February, 1588; and the Mr. Bunbury just mentioned.

MR. ROBINSON'S "ACCOUNT OF WALLAZEY."

"An Account of Wallazey, taken from Parson Glover of West Kirby, Richard Watt of Wallasey, and Robert Wilson of Liscard, by Mr. Robinson, schoolmaster; extracted from Mr. Robinson's letter to Mr. Bunbury, 1720.

"One Wally was Reputed Chiefe and Prime Man at Wallasey, whose Dwelling house was where



WALLASEY CHURCH, LONGITUDINAL SECTION

RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS.

Stanny's House now stands nearly, the foundation of the Dove house is apparently in ye Yard or Croft. This Wally had his Kirk of two Bays of Building in the new Church Yard, between the Steeple and Hall, the foundation whereof is still to be found.[15] And the town was called then Kirby Wally; it has been seen in old Deeds written Wallazey alias Kirby Wally. It obtained the name of Wallazey by the foreign Invaders or Conquourers of Great Brittain, who coming to the utmost jutting Land hereaway call'd Outhill and seeing the Sea ask'd what or whose Sea that was and being answered by these Incolants 'twas Wally's Sea, hence 'twas call'd Wally's Sea, now Wallazey; the same great man was also Wally of Pooltown, hence Wallazey Pool.[16] Wally's Heirs male being extinct the Heires married with Litherland of Lancashire, near Ormes Kirke,[17] where he

15 This description of the position of the church must be a mistake, There is no trace of buildings to the west of the tower, *i.e.*, "between the "Steeple and Hall," and no foundations have been found in digging graves in that part of the churchyard. The oldest foundations—those of the Norman church—were found to the east of the tower, or steeple, as it was always called, the base of which is Edwardian.

16 Though Robinson's derivations are absurd, we can hardly afford to laugh at them, when such a derivation as "Wall-o'Sea," or "Wall-o'th'Sea," has been seriously put forward in recent years. They are doubtless traditionary, and not mere inventions of the schoolmaster.

17 De Waley and Litherland. The "great man called Wally" seems to have had some existence, other than in tradition or in Robinson's imagination; or, rather, a family of that name had some existence in the parish. According to Harl. MS. 1965, *Chartulary of S. Werburgh*, quoted by Ormerod, a moiety of the Rectory was given to that Abbey, with all its appurtenances, in pure alms, by William, son of Richard de Waley, temp. Henry II. In an Inq. P. M., 32 Edward III, Hugh de Walay holds lands in Kirkbye in Waly; and in another Inq. P. M., 36 Edward III, occurs the name of John de Kyrkbye in Walay.

Shortly after this date the Litherland family appear, for in the reign of Henry VI Henry Litherland and Sir Thomas Stanley held a moiety of the manor; and, "in 1404, John de Litherland opposed the Abbot's right of "presentation, but the Abbot afterwards presented Thomas de Charnock in "the same year." (*Ormerod.*)

In two documents quoted in Mr. Beamont's *Hale and Orford*, John de Walays appears as witness to a charter dated "Werinton," 1 Dec., 1288, and Richard de Wallays as witness to another, dated 5 June, 1305; and the following note appears on p. 4 of *A Cavalier's Note Book*, "Up-litherland

had severall Royalties or Chiefs, the last whereof and of Wallazey estate also was sold by the last Edward Litherland of Poolton;[18] some of the descendents of the first Litherlands sold severall Estates in Wallazey to the then Lord of the Manor of Bidstone, besides several Charters which are tributary to Bidstone, as Pembertons, Slades, and Watts. Either one of the Litherlands (which I rather incline to) or Wally gave two Closes of Ground called the far Crookhey and near Crookhey[19] and a meadow at the foot of the latter to the Parsonage of High Altar for a burying place in the Chancel, which Gift I have seen and read and was Engrost in our old Parish Register Book,[20] then in custody of George Pemberton, Clerk, but was cut out by James Ball[21] a younger Brother to

"was likewise a separate lordship, until absorbed into the township of "Aughton. Here in a secluded spot, amidst low-lying meadows, stands "Walsh Hall, occupying the site of the ancient residence of a powerful "family of Waleys, a name frequently met with in early local charters."

Here, then, we have a family of Waleys in Wallasey and in the lordship of Up-Litherland, the former branch merging into the family of "Litherland of Lancashire" about the first half of the fifteenth century. This may have been by the marriage spoken of by Robinson; or, possibly, may have been an accumulation of names, as "de Waley de Litherland."

18 "The last Edward Litherland of Poolton Hall" is the subject of the amusing extract from the registers, No. 101 in Mr. Hance's paper on Wallasey, *Trans. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxxv, in which a few notes on the family are given. Edward Litherland signs the two notes dated 1687 (*Appendix D*), the entry of a parish meeting in 1700, and others. The "Mr. Letherland" who, with the other "Heads of the Parish," installed Robinson as schoolmaster, as mentioned in the note appointing the new schoolmaster, would be the father of the last Edward Litherland. This note is signed by Edward Mainwaring, into whose family Poolton Hall and the Litherland property passed.

19 Crook Hey (W. 194, 195).

20 Bishop Gastrell, in *Notitia Cestriensis*, writes on Wallasey:—"There "were formerly 2 churches here, one called Walley's Kirk, situated in ye "present Church Yard, ye foundations of wch are yet visible, and Lee's Kirk, "near a narrow Land still called Kirkway; but wch became ruinous, and ye "other wanted a priest, they were both taken down, and ye present church "was built in their stead. Walley gave these Lands, called the Nar Crook "Ley, and meadow adjoining, and the Tun Crook hey, to ye High Altar, "and to ye priest for ever, for a burial place in ye chancell belonging to this "Church. This deed of gift was in the Parish Chest, and read by H. "Robinson, Schoolmaster, from whom I received this information, anno "1718."

21 James Ball, Churchwarden, 1666.

. . . .[22] that house John Hill lives, together with the Solemn Covenant which he and others in the parish subscribed to. Mr. Parker for the Earl of Derby, Mr. Meoles[23] for his tenants as Chief Lord of Liscard, and others met to set Stones for the green Ways in Liscard field and for meeting of the Boundaries of the Common of the Townships, set three stones one at the back of Gills House, one in a green Slack[24] out of all ways above twenty Rood below the Stone Bark Hill to the westward, and one in the Bottom of the Channell, all three stones making a Norwest Line. According to Ditch of the Glebe Land call'd Rathborn's Yard,[25] Mr. Ball afores[d] broke the middle stone in three pieces with a Smithy hammer.

"As there was a great man called Wally, so there was a great man call'd Lee who had a Kirk situated near the westward of the Kirkway, I suppose in or very near that close called Cross Acre Hey, and his tow~~er~~n stood near the Kirk as by the closes call'd Old town Heys, and other Calant Signes which have been found by Digging appears. Lees Kirk fell, and Wally's wanted a priest.[26] The people of Liscard

22 Some words have evidently been omitted here.

23 Of Wallasey Hall: one of an old Wallasey family.

24 "Slack, n, a small valley, or dell (Local)."—*Imp. Dic.*

25 This boundary between the townships of Liscard and Wallasey does not cross the Hose in the same line as the present one. The line runs now, as then, from the Water-tower as far as Rathborn's Yard, now Pye's Yard (W. 433a), the field on the west side of the road called Hose Side, and opposite to the Captain's Pit, where it would reach the edge of the Hose or Common. Stone Bark Hill is included in a large piece of ground called "Stonebark" (W. 450, and L. 485), or "The Warren," belonging to the family of the late Mr. John North, until lately one of the few remaining bits of the Hose, and celebrated for its blackberries and its rabbits; the latter the descendants of the hordes that so troubled Liscard in 1753 (*Appendix E*). The present boundary runs over the top of the hill, but Robinson makes it run 160 yards to the westward. A "rood" as a measure of length is stated, in *A Cavalier's Note Book*, to be 24 feet; therefore 20 roods = 160 yards.

26 See Note 20 If the Lees Kirk—which may have been an oratory, served by Birkenhead Priory—ever existed at all, it must, I think, have been near the top of Earlston Road, where the narrow pathway runs through into

See vol. 72 (1920) p. 39n.

and Seacomb went to Lees Kirk and came through Liscard town fields, the Lounds under Seacomb way, and so up Kirkway to the Kirk; and Wally's and Pooltown people to Wally's Kirk. Mr: G(l)over said that the the right name of Liscard was Liskirk, this Lee, whose Mansion house was that of John, Al^{s} Long Youngs, Descendantly has his turbary from that part of Bidstone Moss now called Liscard Longways,[27] came through the Rushes[28] in at Urmson's Yate up Long Ditchway, down Watts Cabbin Hey, thro the Oldfields' hey and so home.[29] If his team or Carridge ware set, broke, or otherways disabled that he could not reach home that night (for men did but little in a day) he loose(d) his Cattle and left them there, because it was not then call'd Wallazey Leasow, but Wally's Lees way. Wally to prevent differences compounded with Lee that Lee and his people Should pay 2$^{d.}$ per horse for every horse he kept, Except a stone horse in a Tether or Coppy, not bringing them on. The Lees-way is now taken in by the people of Wallazey. After the Discontinuance of the Kirk

Mount Pleasant, and Mount Road. Earlston Road and this path I take to be Kirkway. I have not identified "Cross Acre Hey," but Old town Heys is that part of the new Cemetery which lies nearest to the house and grounds called "Earlston," and previously "Rosebank." This house, which has an older house incorporated in the building, is named in the Tithe Maps "The Old Manor," and may be "John, Al^{s} Long Young's" Mansion House. Near this place, and where the house "Breck Hey" now stands, stood a windmill, which is shown in a chart of the Port of Liverpool dated 1814, and the three cottages at the top of Earlston Road are called Kirk Cottages, the original single one bearing the same name. A path known as "Kirby Sytch" led from near the Captain's Pit to Kirkway, following probably the line of the present Mount Pleasant. Both Kirkway and Kirby Sytch were in use in Robinson's day, and he must have known their positions, but both names are now lost.

There is an impression, shared in by many, that the traditional lost church near Leasowe Lighthouse was Lees Kirk; but Robinson—the only authority for the latter's existence—distinctly places it near Liscard, whereas a site to the seaward of Leasowe Lighthouse would be quite outside the parish of Wallasey.

[27] Not given in the Wallasey Maps.

[28] Probably Rush Hey, W. 58, on the edge of the Moss.

[29] See Note 33, and *Appendix C.*

as afores[d] all the incolants agreed to carry all the materials of Lee's Kirk to Wally's and build one greater Kirk which is the present Church tho' built at Severall times as it were in Cantils. Wally's Coat of Arms is in the Window next to the South Door in red Glass:[30] and the Cross called Weeping Cross was a stone about 4 yards Long and stood near the south door and the stump is yet in the ground and stands cut with a Tenon and Set in a Mortice in a stone a yard within the ground, it was much defaced in the Civil Wars by Soldiers shooting at it. Afterwards broke in three pieces in King William's Wars by the Charles Gallies men and finally irreligiously employ'd by Tho[s]. Cotton[31] for steps for the Stile that Leads from y[e] Church to the Cross in Wallazey, he hewed off all the curious cuttings that was on it.[32] After the Churches were consolidated Lee's people were obliged to carry their dead up the Great Lane leading from the town to the Hose, up the Kirk way thro Kirby Sytch thro Oldfield hey up Watts Cabin Hey along that way or Rake call'd Little Breck and to prevent which trouble they agreed to find [*that*] Yate called Stonebridge Yate to fence Wally's field for ever, and so had a way thro' the now Townfield of Wally's.[33] Seacomb Burying way is by Ly'd Yate

[30] See *Appendix A* (*The Church*).

[31] Frequently mentioned in the Churchwarden's Accounts as receiving payments for repairs.

[32] The Cross probably received its name of "Weeping Cross" from the old custom of the Priest meeting the funerals at the churchyard cross. The south side of the Church is the usual position. The base stone, mentioned above, was, I believe, in the yard of the Old Hall, when that building was pulled down in 1862-3.

[33] This road from Liscard to Wallasey—*i.e.*, along Rake Lane, Earlston Road, and Mount Pleasant to the Captain's Pit, and thence through the field path to Claremount School, and along "Little Breck" (lately Top Lane, but now called Claremount Road) to the church—seems to be an immensely long way round, but, doubtless, was originally taken in order to pass those stones or crosses which "stood at the foot of the Kirkway, and near in the great "Lane that leads from Liscard to the Hose," and "near the marle pit in

alias Lytch Yate[34] by Wally's lately Litherland's, but now Mr. Mainwarings Hall[35] and so to Wallazey. Both Wally and Lee were in the Jurisdiction of Halton, hence Halton fee in which Court they say all our Ancient Customs are recorded. Before the Diss-forestation of Worrall[36] all the flatt land called the Moss on which the Salt tide flows was a Wood insomuch that I have heard Rich[d] Watt say that he had heard old people to say, that a man might have gone out of tree tops from the Meoles to Birkenhead, a token whereof is in finding of large tree roots when getting of turfs, which roots lye a great way in the sea at this Present. When this present Church was built being built at severall times, as afores[d] severall strangers came and worked some a week some a fortnight, at their own proper Charges, and went away without any pay or Reward. More particular one Man as a Master Workman and others Dependent on him Came and got Stone and dresst them and built that Arch of the Church

"Kirby Sytch" (Captain's Pit), where the bier would be put down, prayers said, and the bearers rested.

The following question was asked in "Articles to be enquired of within "the Archdeaconry of Yorke, by the Churchwardens and Sworn men," 1630-40:—"Whether at the death of any there be praying for the dead at "Crosses or places where Crosses have been, in the way to Church." (Brand's *Pop. Ant.*) And Pennant mentions that in North Wales the funeral processions stopped at every crossway, the bier laid down, and the Lord's Prayer rehearsed, and also at the churchyard gate.

After this custom had dropped out, the Liscard people would naturally wish for a shorter way to carry their dead; hence the opening of Stonebridge Yate, Gate, or Road, which I take to be the present road from Liscard to Wallasey, or else some field-way.

34 "*Lichgate.* The gate of a churchyard through which the corpse at a "funeral is brought in. . . A.S. *lice*, corpus. . . *Lich Road.* The road "by which a corpse passes for interment. It is supposed that a right of road "is obtained by the passage of a funeral." (Leigh's *Cheshire Glossary.*) Doubtless this road is the present highroad from Seacombe to Wallasey.

35 Poolton Hall. See latter part of Note 18.

36 "The forest of Wirrall was dis-forested in the year 1376, by King "Edward III, in consequence of a request made by the Black Prince in "behalf of the inhabitants of Chester, who had sustained many damages, "grievances, and suits, by reason of the said forest; it is probable that the "forest has been ever since in cultivation." (*Lysons.*)

next to Birds, Gills, and Balls forms, the workmanship being different from the other arches, and Departed without any pay. When the neighbours ask'd them Whence they came they answered out of the Woods. The Steeple was built in 1530.[37] I have heard Old Rich[d] Watt say, that his Old Aunt Tomlinson told him that when she was a little girl she carried Drink in a Pitcher to the Workmen building the Steeple, and that the Master workman had but three pence ℔ Day.——The Church was Dedicated to S[t]. Hillaries.[38] I have often Enquired of old People what Parsons they could remember or had heard of but none could ever informe me of any before Parson Fletcher, who was only a reader and procured one now and then to preach. Thomas Fletcher Clericus was Bury'd November y[e] 6th 1619 and in all probability was parson here near 40 years, because we find one Mr. John Gorstilowe parson of Wallazey Bury'd January the 9th 1579 of whom our Old people could never Inform me of any such parson. After Fletcher came D[r]. Snell who built

37 See *Appendix A* (*The Church*).

38 The church is dedicated to S. Hilary, and though tradition says that it was founded by that saint, there is, I believe, no record of his ever having been in Britain. In "The Early Church in Strathclyde" (*Trans. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xl, n.s. 4), the present Rector of the parish church suggests that the original dedication may possibly have been to S. Kentigern, whose festival is held on the same day; but Mr. Cox's theory ("Wallasey Church," *Trans. Ches. Arch. Soc.*, 1886-7), ascribing the foundation to S. Germanus, appears to me quite as probable. S. Germanus and S. Lupus were no great distance from Wallasey at the time of the "Victoria Hallelinatica," about the year 447-8, during the second visit of the former to Britain, having been sent by the Gallican Church to suppress the Pelagian Heresy. What more likely than that these foes to heresy would dedicate a church to that greater one of a century earlier, S. Hilary of Poictiers? It is worthy of note that about the time of this visit to Britain, S. Hilary of Arles, a brother-in-law of S. Lupus, died, as his friends thought, a martyr's death. May not this have had something to do with the dedication, by two of those friends, of a church to his great namesake?

There is a singular appropriateness in this dedication, S. Hilary always being represented as standing on an island. He is generally surrounded by serpents, and holds several volumes of his writings in his hand, and bears his pastoral staff and mitre. In the illuminated list of rectors, in the vestry of the church, and on the banner bearing his effigy, S. Hilary is represented as holding a model of the old church, in reference to his supposed foundation.

the Stone building at the Parsonage it being before an old thatched house tho' it had a brave Parlour which he took down, and Recovered as much money from Fletcher's Executors for Delapidation as built the hall.[39] The Anarchy times threw him out, and one Adams who fled out of Ireland had the place and profits of the whole Parish,[40] to him Succeeded Mr. Harrison, who as was then said, was frighted into his grave at Sr George Booth's rising for the King, to him Succeeded Mr. Harvey, to him Mr. Alex^dr fetherstone, to him Mr. Swinton, to him Mr. forshall.[41] When our Parsons went their Procession the Old and Young People dress't in white attended at the Parsonage house and went thrice about Wallazey Cross and down the town, in at Urmson's Yate up Long Ditch Hey down Watts Cabin Hey where they began to sing the Benedicite Opera Omnia, up old field hey and then to a Stone which stood near the marle pit in Kirby Sytch where was Epistle and Gospel then up Kirby Sytch to another Gospel Stone which Stood at ye foot of the Kirkway in the great Lane that Leads from

39 By "the hall" Robinson must mean the hall of the parsonage, as Wallasey Hall was built in 1604. Dr. Snell built this stone house in 1632, and Thomas Swinton enlarged it in 1695, placing the following inscription thereon:—LATERITIAM HUJUS-CE DOMUS PARTEM THOMAS SWINTON FIERI FECIT ANNO DOM: 1695. Further considerable enlargements were made to the house by Rector Haggitt, who, about 1864, pulled down the Old Hall, and used the materials for a new wing to the Rectory.

40 "The said parsonage (*i.e.*, Wallezey) stood sequestred for the delinquencie "of Sr Wm Massey, he being a papist and mainetayning his sonnes in Armes "agt the Parliament. The present Parson is one Mr. Adams, placed there "by the Comittee of Plundered Ministers, and hath that part of the parsonage "belonging to Sr W. M. assigned to him by an order from the aforesaid "Comittee for the increase of his maintainance for his paynes in that p'ishe, "and he is a gent. well esteemed of. The value of Sir Wm M.'s p'te of the "p'sonage was, in Anno 1641, ffiftie pounds."—*Church Survey, 1649-55.*

41 John Gorstilowe, appointed 1550; Thomas Fletcher, 1580; George Snell, D.D., 1619; Randle Adams, 1635; Edward Harrison, M.A., 1656; John Harvey, M.A., 1660; Alexander Featherstone, 1661; Thomas Swinton, 1674; John Forshall, B.A., 1702; Charles Aldcroft, B.A., 1718. Mr. Hance gives some interesting information concerning these rectors in *Trans. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xxxv, and a list of the rectors from 1301.

Liscard to the hose which was usually Strow'd about with flowers where the Young ones usually play'd. After Gospel read, which Gospel Stone was broken and taken away by Ball afores[d] and part of the ground, where the S[d] Flowers were Strewed and reading used, is Walled in by Mr. Runkhorn[42] Setting a New Stone Wall and Gate where never was any before, then they Proceeded thro' Liscard fields and had some reading near those butt Ends called the Loons, under Seacombe way, and then to Molleney's door where was usually prepared Ale and Cakes, this was the first Day. The next morning they met there and went to Gaunder[43] Young's Alias Alexander Young's where they had reading and Entertainment, this is the 2nd Day. The next morning they met there and proceeded thro' the fields towards Pooltown, and about the middle of Williamson now T. Bird's Platkin Hey read Epistle and Gospel, then to Hough's house now belonging to the School and so to Mr. Dury's now Mr. Bunburrys at both which Last houses they had Entertainment and so brought the Parson home. This walk I have gone along with Mr. fetherstone and Mr. Swinton but not all of a day.[44]—*Extracted from Mr. Robinson's Letter to Mr. Bunbury*, 1720.

[42] "Sam[l] Runkhorne," churchwarden 1707.

[43] Query, Saunder.

[44] See *Appendix C* (*The Procession*).

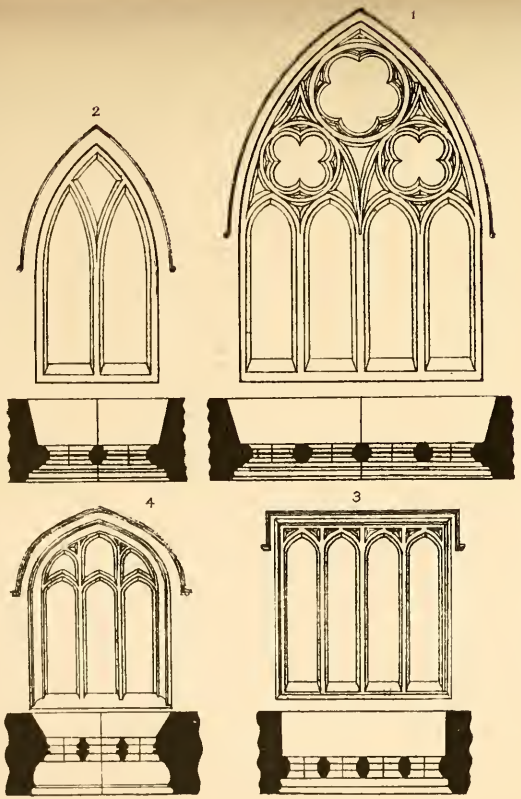
APPENDIX A.

THE CHURCH.

The Parish Church of St. Hilary, Wallasey, of two hundred years ago was a very different building from that which now "tops the neighb'ring hill," as well as from that one which was burnt down in the early morning of Sunday, 1st February, 1857.

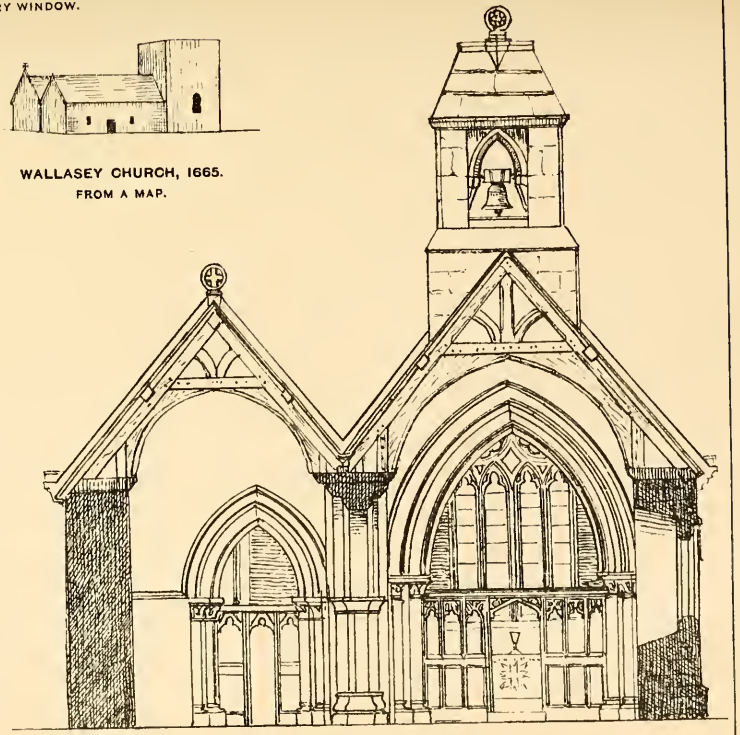
This latter church, built on the foundations and with the materials of its predecessor, was erected about the year 1760 (the new-found volume of churchwardens' accounts may perhaps fix the date), and when destroyed, thirty-five years ago, was found to contain, in the walls, many of the carved stones of the church known to Robinson, and which he mentions as follows :—

"This Wally had his Kirk of two bays of build-
"ings in the new Church Yard between the Steeple
"and Hall, the foundation whereof is still to be
"found. (See Note 15.) . . . . Lees Kirk
"fell and Wally's wanted a priest. . . . . After
"the discontinuance of the Kirk as afores[d] all the
"incolants agreed to carry all the materials of Lee's
"Kirk to Wally's and build one greater Kirk which
"is the present Church tho' built at severall times,
"as it were in Cantils. Wally's Coat of Arms is in
"the window next to the south door in red glass.
". . . . . When this present church was built
"being built at severall times as afores[d] several
"strangers came and worked some a week some a
"fortnight, at their own proper charges, and went
"away without any pay or reward. More particu-
"lar one man as a Master Workman and others
"dependant on him came and got stone and
"dresst them and built that Arch of the Church
"next to Birds, Gills, and Balls forms, the work-
"manship being different from the other arches,



1 EAST WINDOW.
2 EAST WINDOW, NORTH AISLE.
3 WINDOW, NORTH NAVE.
4 BELFRY WINDOW.

WALLASEY CHURCH, 1665.
FROM A MAP.



CROSS SECTION, LOOKING EAST.

WALLASEY CHURCH.

" and departed without any pay. When the neigh-
" bours ask'd them whence they came they answered
" out of the woods. The Steeple was built in 1530."

The only person who took any interest in these stones—other than to look on them as suitable material for building or for garden rockeries—was Mr. E. W. Cox, who sketched and measured them as they were taken out of the walls, the result of his researches appearing in his "Notes on the History of Wallasey Church," published in the *Journal of the Chester Arch. Soc.* for 1886-7. Robinson's statements in reference to the church bear out Mr. Cox's restoration in several points, although that gentleman had not seen "The Account" at the time he made his drawings and plans. His restoration shows a church of two bays, a chancel arch of different workmanship from the rest of the church, the south door mentioned by Robinson, and also that the church was built at several times " as it were in Cantils."

There is no occasion for me to go into the several rebuildings and additions, nor to deal fully with Mr. Cox's conjectural restoration and his reasons for appropriating the several remains and measurements as he has done; but, while referring you to his paper, will merely give a sketch of the church as it appeared after the final additions in 1530 and in Robinson's time.

The building then was a double church—a nave and one aisle of equal width, a type not uncommon in the neighbourhood (Shotwick Church being a good example of the style), the nave being joined to the aisle by two four-centred arches.

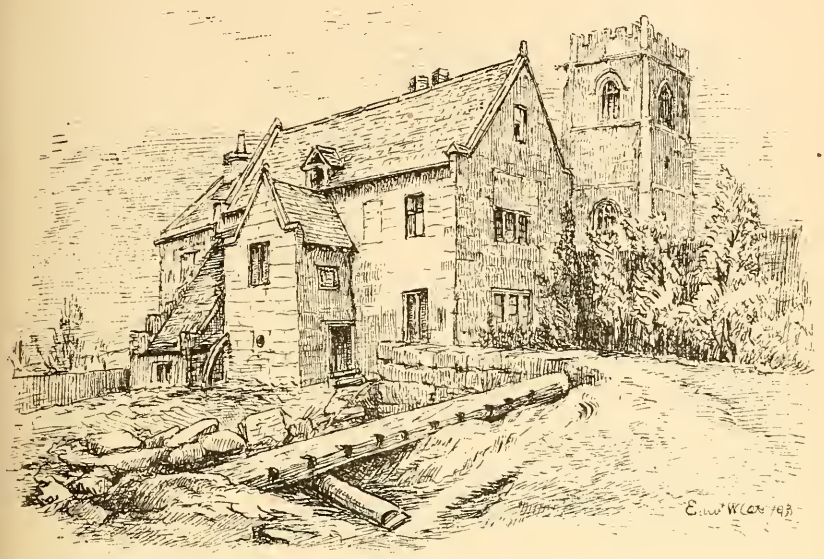
The chancel arch and two small arches joining a north side-chapel to the chancel and nave respectively were of the period of the transition from Norman to Early English, and were of singularly beautiful workmanship, the capitals of the former

being similar to some at Furness Abbey, and doubtless belonging to the arch built by the men who came "out of the woods."

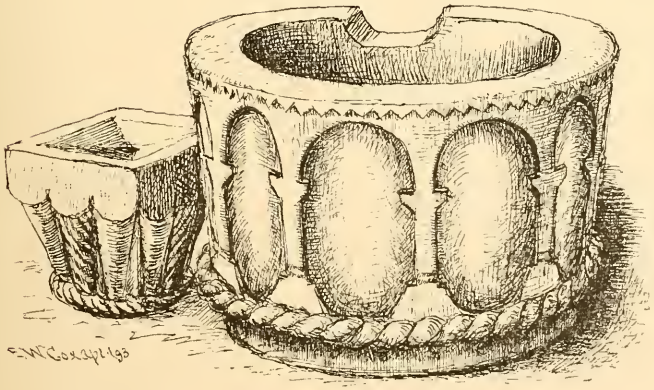
The four-light east window and the smaller two-light one in the side chapel, the south door and porch, and the two tower arches *(in situ)* were of Edwardian date, the remains of which being sufficient to restore even the tracery of the windows, while the remainder of the tower *(in situ)*, all the south windows, and the two nave arches, with octagonal piers and capitals, were of the same date as the tower—1530—and were the last important additions to the church.

Some Early Norman remains were found, consisting of the tympanum of a small round-headed "priest's door," carved with the lamb and flag—probably the "chancel door" mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts; the capitals and some voussoirs belonging to the same door, a small piscina, and the font which is now preserved in the present church.

This font must have been in use in Robinson's day, and until the rebuilding of 1760, when it was replaced by a yellow marble basin and pedestal font, which remained in the church until Dr. Byrth's appointment to the rectory in 1834. The Norman font was then in the rectory garden, and he took it back to the church; some of his own family and parishioners now living having been baptized in it. It remained in the church until 1856, when—a few months before the fire—a new font was given to the church by Wm. Chambres, Esq., and the old one was again relegated to the rectory garden, and after another thirty years' weathering was placed in the present church. It is of local stone, circular, and very massive, with an incised arcading of round-topped arches, a dog-tooth moulding round the top, and a cable moulding round the base.



WALLASEY OLD HALL.



WALLASEY OLD CHURCH. THE FONT.

Mr. Cox considers the Transition rebuilding to have been undertaken in order to provide sepulture in the side chapel for William, son of Richard de Waley, the donor of a moiety of the rectory to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, temp. Henry II—possibly the same Wally who gave "the far Crook Hey "and near Crook Hey, and a meadow adjoining, to "the Parsonage of High Altar, for a burying place "in the Chancel."

That the church was ill-used during the "anarchy times" appears from Robinson's story of the soldiers making a target of the Weeping Cross, and in a note written by him in the Registers, dated 1687 (quoted in *Appendix B.: The Bells)*, which shows that the leads from the steeple were pillaged during the Civil War; and from the commencement of the Churchwardens' Accounts in 1658 to the close of the old volume in 1751, repairs to the building, roof, windows, &c., are very frequent.

The inside of the building, before the Restoration of King Charles II, was probably whitewashed throughout, without decorations of any sort. During 1658-9, 2s. was "Dis: forr changinge the fflagonn "belonginge to the Church"; 3s. was spent on a "pewter basan," and "a diall" was put up "for "the use of the parish," besides necessary repairs to the fabric of the church. In 1660-1, a new "pulpitt" was provided, 3d. being "spent at the "settin up ye pulpitt," and in the same years 2s. was "spent in gettinge up the fann on the steeple." During the following year—1662—expenses were incurred in an elaborate scheme of decoration:—

> Payd unto William Coates and his sonne for playstering whashing and whiteing the Church for painteing the Ten commandements Creed and the Lords prayer

	£	s.	d.
with some sentences of scripture and setting upp the Kings armes in the Church - - - - - - -	3	10	„
Payd more to the sayd William Coates for earnest of the said worke - - - - - - - - - -	„	1	„
Payd unto Issabel daughter of Thomas Harisson for bearing water to the said worke - - - - - -	„	2	„
Payd for a vessel to the workeman and securing the same for the hurt done - - - - - - - -	„	„	6

Year by year the usual repairs continue, the entries being of more or less interest; one of the most curious being in 1672-3—"for making a desk "& chain for the Book, & expended on the worke-"man, 00 : 05 : 00." The altar rails were also repaired during these two years, in which the churchwardens seem to have had a hard time, a large expenditure having been incurred in recasting a bell, and they close their accounts with this entry: "for gathering Church Leyes these two yeares "goeing about the pshss 22 times."

The following are a few of the more interesting extracts relating to the church fabric and furniture. Nearly every year during the century covered by the volume of accounts, expenses were incurred for repairs, slates, lime, &c., and there are also many interesting entries concerning parish expenses and charities, to quote which would lengthen this paper to too great an extent. Many entries referring to the bells are quoted in *Appendix B.*, as well as the complete account for the year 1687.

1675.	An hour glass & frame - - -	02 : 00
1676.	to James Willson for Collectõn boxes - - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 00

1677. 4 yards ¼ of green bayes for a carpet - - - - - - - - 00 : 05 : 10
for two dales to repair the seats of the Little Ile - - - - 03 : 00
1678. to the act for burying in Woollen 00 : 06
1680. to a plate for the Communion table - - - - - - - - - 01 : 02
1682. The "bread desk" was enlarged, and the chest, reading desk, and Mr. Litherland's pew repaired; a frame was made for the Table of Degrees, and the "quire fframe" was removed. The capitals of the chancel arch, when found in 1857, were morticed for the reception of a choir screen.
1683. to an hower glass - - - - 00 : 00 : 10
to turning the pulpit and makeing a pue & deske for ye prson 00 : 05 : 00
1684. goeing to Liurpoole wth the Great Bible, ex. - - - - 00 : 00 : 10
to Mr. Gerrard for the great Bible - - - - - - - - 00 : 14 : 00
1688. A new Service book - - - - 00 : 10 : 08
1690. to an Hour glass - - - - 00 : 01 : 00
1691. to ex. wth Tho. Cotton at Bargaineing about the East Gable end of the Church - 00 : 00 : 08
1692. to Tho. Cotton for repairing Chchyard wall - - - - - 00 : 02 : 00

This would probably be the occasion on which that individual used the remains of the Weeping Cross, broken by King William's men, for steps for the stile leading to the cross in Wallasey village.

1694. to a new hour glass - - - - 00 : 01 : 00
1698. to ex. on two Severall Paymnts about undertakeing to paint the Ch: - - - - - - - - 00 : 06 : 06

to Tho. Cotton to mend the Ch. Eaues, Laths nailes & his work for Ch. yard wall - 01 : 03 : 08

"July 6th 1704.

"Memorand that 'tis agreed the day & year "aboues^d^ Between Samuel Dean & James Preeson "Churchward^ns^ & Tho: Cotton Mason for & Con- "cerning the Gable end & window of the South Ile "of the psh Church of Wallasey the s^d^ Tho: Cotton "hath agreed to take the s^d^ Church South end Ile "and window downe to the foundacõn & Set up the "s^d^ gable end & window again wth the addicõn of "Such new stone as shall be requisite to make the "work Compleate & to find all Scaffolding and "materialls except as follows & to begin upon the "S^d^ work w^thin^ such convenient time as shall seem "meet to the S^d^ Tho: Cotton soe as the same work "shall & may be fully finished & compleated before "Micalmas next ensueing The s^d^ Churchward^ns^ "are to find and provide seven barrells of good "Lyme & to Lead all new Stone to the Church as "shall be needfull to the work & to pay to the S^d^ "Tho: Cotton when the work is finished the Sume "of three pounds Ster^g^, the S^d^ ward^ns^ to take the "slate adjoyneing to the Church end off & to take "Care of the glass witness our hands.

"Sam^el^ Deane.
"Thomas Cotton."

1722.[45] For two Altar Table Cloths, the one Green the other white, and making the same, and mending the black cloth 01 : 07 : 06

Coloured altar cloths were surely not common at this period of general laxity in Church matters.

[45] There is an hiatus in the Churchwardens' Account from 1699 to 1722, though the notices of meetings continue.

1726. In this year there was a Church Ley of 1s. per oxgange, for repairs to the roof of the "North Ile."

1729. To A new Communion Plate - 00 : 01 : 02
To the frame for a Benefaction Table - - - - - - - - 00 : 06 : 00

"July 31, 1729.

"We whose names are Subscribed being met "according to notice given in the Church on Sun- "day last to Lay the Ch: Wardens John Dean and "Thomas Richardson a Ley, Do allow and order "the said Churchwardens to Gather a Ley of one "Shilling per Oxgange through the Parish to defray "the Charges of white washing writing and beauti- "fying the Church and other parish Expences.

"As witness our hands,

"John Mullinix, John Robinson, John Smith "(his mark), Sam[l]. Urmson, Benj Ranford, Joseph "Robinson (his mark). "Isaac Hyde Cu[t]."

1729. To Lime and Workmen for the white-washing the Church and School - - - - - 01 : 16 : 06
To Lodging, Hair, Carting and Sizing for the Church - - 00 : 03 : 06
To Tho: Leigh Writer and Painter - - - - - - - 05 : 10 : 00

1734. Boards and Timber for Singers Seats - - - - - - - - 00 : 11 : 03

1736. To a Copper Cock for the Steeple - - - - - - - 03 : 16 : 10½
To wast of Copper and work- manship - - - - - - - 00 : 15 : 00
To Smiths Bill for a Spindle - 00 : 03 : 11
To Gilding the Cock - - - 00 : 15 : 00

1745. To 1¾[yd] of Velvet for pulpit cushion at 17[s]. pr. yard - - 01 : 09 : 09

	To 4 Silk Tassels at 3^{s} per Tassel - - - - - - - -	00 : 12 : 00
	To 4$^{lb.}$ of Feathers at 10$^{d.}$ pr. pound - - - - - - - -	00 : 03 : 04
	To two large Skins - - - -	00 : 01 : 10
	To ^{yd} 3¼ of Ribband at 8$^{d.}$ pr. ^{yd} - - - - - - - - -	00 : 02 : 02
	To thread Silk and making the cushion - - - - - - - -	00 : 02 : 06
1749.	To Tho: Willson & John Johnson Lading & making clay and stopping the Hole in the west Gable end of Church -	00 : 01 : 06
1750.	To Henry Cotton for Building the West End of Church -	17 : 17 : 00
	To Eighty pounds w. of Bars for the new window - - -	01 : 06 : 08
	To Tho. Willson for the new window and repairing old -	01 : 02 : 08

In the year following—1751—further large repairs were undertaken, 5200 slates being procured at 16s. per thousand; and on 21 June, 1751, a parish meeting levied a church ley of 3s. per oxgange to take down and rebuild the west gable end of the church.

Shortly after this date—about the year 1760—this church was pulled down, with the exception of the Tudor tower, and the materials used in the construction of a new church, the carved stones being built into the walls. These, when found, were thickly covered with whitewash, the details being picked out with red lines; those of the Norman period bearing the appearance of having undergone a previous fire. There is a tradition that the church has been thrice burnt, having been twice a church without a tower, and once a tower without a church, or *vice versâ*. The portion of the north aisle

to the north of the tower retained the original 16th century roof, painted blue, with gold stars.

The church of 1760-1856, of which many sketches and drawings remain, is well remembered by many of the older parishioners, and was an oblong barn-like structure, pewed and galleried, and without a chancel, the east window being of the type termed "Venetian"—a round-headed centre light, divided from two square-headed ones by round pillars. In 1837 a transept across the east end was added, forming a small chancel and providing additional sittings.

As to these buildings I think we may agree with Mr. Cox when he says that the "building of 1760 "was nearly everything a church should *not* be; "that the additions of 1837 were in worse taste "than those of 1760; and that the whole combined "in an eminent degree the ignorance of the "eighteenth with the pretentious meanness of the "nineteenth century, and constituted what used "to be called in one's boyhood an extremely neat "edifice!"

There are many old gravestones in the churchyard, but few bearing more than initials and a date, and many undecipherable. There is an old stone—a flat grave cross—with incised carving, the only word now remaining being ABSOLVO, in Gothic letters. Only the foot of the cross, with three steps, is now left, the stone having been broken into two pieces. The larger portion is now worn quite smooth, though when I first remember it, it was covered with the incised work and inscription. It was found some thirty years ago, in digging a grave to the west of the tower, and measures about 54ins. by about 15ins.

The "rude forefathers of the hamlet" have left but one monument—that of Mary Wilson, wife of Richard Pauper, 19 Oct., 1790—in the place

where they sleep. Where is the "burial place in "ye chancell" for which the "great man Walley" gave three fields? The Waleys, the Litherlands, and the Meolses have long since mingled their dust with that of the nameless dead, and their place knows them no more.

APPENDIX B.

THE BELLS.

Though there was a tower, or more probably a spire, at Wallasey Church as early as the 13th century, the earliest mention of the bells seems to be about twenty years after the present "steeple" had been erected on the base of its predecessor, in 1530.

In the returns as to "Church Goods," made in the third year of Edward VI (1550)—those for the Hundred of Wirral *(Church Goods, Cheshire,* 2. *R.* $\frac{1}{46}$) being certified by John Massey, Kt., and Rowland Stanley, Esq.—"Kyrkeby Walley" appears as having "ij Chaless," and "a ringe of iij belles."

The "first bell" was recast in 1624, as noted in the Register Book:—

"Mem that vppon the Seventeenth day of June "A'no D'ni 1624 the first bell belonging to this "Church was new cast by William Clibbery Bel-"founder at ye Holt al's the Towne of Lyons;[46] "The new casting whereof Cost 7^{li} & 12^{d} That is "to say—4^{li} 10^{s} for Casting it and 51^{s} for ffifty one "Pound of mettall that was added vnto it."

"Henry Bird } Churchwardens
"Geo: Walker } for that yeare."

[46] Holt in Flintshire—formerly Castell Lleon.

The Churchwardens' Accounts, beginning in the year 1658, contain many notes in reference to the bells, consisting chiefly of expenses incurred in repairing the wheels and frame, new bell ropes, "gugons," or "gudgeons," and in "oyle" and "liquour" to grease the bells; but none of any great interest until 1672-3, when the "little bell" was recast. The churchwardens then received—"for 31 pounds of bell mettle, 01 : 03 : 03," and incurred the following expenses :—

for cutting the mettle out of the great bell - - - - - - - - -	00 : 04 : 06
expended on men in assisting to raise the bell - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 06
for cleansing the Steeple - - -	00 : 01 : 00
paid to Lanckshaw that undertooke to cast the little bell & faild - -	00 : 06 : 06
expended on him & others - - -	00 : 01 : 00
Spent in agreeing wth W^{m}. Poultney at Liuerpoole to make bell wheeles	00 : 02 : 00
for wood and boards to make bell wheeles - - - - - - - - -	01 : 04 : 06
for ash wood for the worke - - -	00 : 07 : 00
to Tho: Hill & Rob: Willson for wood to be beams to the bell wheeles - - - - - - - - -	00 : 04 : 10
p^{d} W^{m}. Poultney for his worke - -	01 : 00 : 00
p^{d} to Edward Richardson for his worke - - - - - - - - - -	00 : 19 : 00
Spent on the workmen during the whole time of working - - -	00 : 06 : 00
Spent when certaine of the p'sh & wee agreed wth W^{m}. Scott to cast the bell - - - - - - - - -	00 : 09 : 00
p^{d} for drawing articles on both sides	00 : 05 : 00
Spent when the bell was taken down	00 : 03 : 00
& at loading of the bell - - - -	00 : 01 : 00

p[d] 3 mens charges to goe over w[th] the bell to Liu[r]poole being constrained to stay all night at Liu[r]poole - - - - - - - - - -	00 : 04 : 06
for ferry for the bell - - - - -	00 : 01 : 06
for a cart & weighing the bell at Liu[r]poole - - - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 08
for a Horse to Wiggan to see the bell cast - - - - - - - - -	00 : 04 : 00
for keeping the horse two nights & two shoes - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 05
Spent in tarrying two days & two nights my owne charges - - -	00 : 06 : 08
given to the bellfounders at and before the casting of the bell & to a company of assistants in breaking the ground to take the bell out of the mould in meat & drinke - - - - - - - - -	00 : 12 : 09
for ferry to come back againe - -	00 : 00 : 06
p[d] for ferry of the bell from Liuerpoole - - - - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 06
Spent at loading of the bell at Seacombe & bringing to the Church	00 : 04 : 00
p[d] for iron to make bolts & clapes for the new bell - - - - - -	00 : 08 : 06
p[d] to Sam: Preeson for worke of the new bell - - - - - - - - -	00 : 08 : 00
p[d] to Thomas Gill for his worke at the new bell - - - - - - -	00 : 04 : 06
p[d] for two new bell ropes - - -	00 : 06 : 00
p[d] for part of a rope for the third bell	00 : 01 : 06
for one new bell clapper for flighting the other two & makeing new bowles - - - - - - - - -	01 : 05 : 06
for mending one clapper w[ch] broke	00 : 03 : 06
the first money we p[d] to W[m]. Scott	01 : 16 :

1407115

expended on W^m. Scott at Chester not haueing money to pay him according to promise & day - - 00 : 02 : 06
borrowed at Liu^rpoole to pay W^m. Scott - - - - - - - - - - 04 : 00 : 00
for addition of 26 pound of mettle to the bell - - - - - - - - 01 : 06 :
for ringing both Novembers & Candles 00 : 10 :
p^d to James Scambler for Wm Scotts use - - - - - - - - - - - 03 : :

The usual repairs and expenses continue until 1687, the following being a few of the more interesting entries :—

		s.	d.
1675.	for 6 foot of thick plank for the bell ropes to run through, and wood for bushes - -	02	04
1676.	x at letting the great bell downe on the workemen & some others of the p'sh - - -	00 : 01	: 06
1680.	to assistants 3 severall dayes to raise the 3 bells and carryage of wood - - - - - - -	00 : 05	: 00
1683.	to agreeing wth ye bell hanger to hange ye bells - - - -	00 : 00	: 06
	to bords to make ye wheiles round & otr: ueses - - -	00 : 02	: 06
	to planke for wheile spokes & a pese to mend ye frams - -	00 : 02	: 00
	to ferey & charges for my selfe & ye bell hanger - - - -	00 : 01	: 06
	to carage to ye water side - -	00 : 00	: 06
	to a cart to the waterside to fetch them - - - - - -	00 : 00	: 06
	to careying ye brasses to Wigin	00 : 00	: 09
	to careying them from Wigin -	00 : 00	: 09
	to casting ye brasses - - -	00 : 17	: 06
	to a head stock for the great bell - - - - - - - -	00 : 08	: 00

	to carage to the water side -	00 : 00 : 04
	to ferey & charges to fetch them ouer - - - - - - - - -	00 : 00 : 08
	to thr̃ee rowels' for the three bells' - - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 06
	to a cart to Seacombe to fetch them - - - - - - - - -	00 : 00 : 06
	to ringeing ye bells' to smooeth the B^s^ - - - - - - - -	00 : 01 : 00
	to a roape to peise ye bell ropes	00 : 01 : 06
	to skins to heng ye clapers on	00 : 01 : 00
	to the bell hanger for all his worke - - - - - - - -	03 : 04 : 00
	to ringeing on Gunpowder Treason day - - - - -	00 : 05 : 04
1686.	to the order ag^t^ irregularity of ringing - - - - - - -	00 : 02 : 00

Was this last "order" one of those rhyming notices levying fines for bad ringing, or for appearing in the belfry in spur or hat, &c., which exist in some old ringing lofts? Here is one from Overton Church, Frodsham, 1776, which it will be observed is an acrostic:—

F rom faults observe you ringers well
R ing true and don't o'erturn your bell
O n each default by him thats made
D own sixpence surely shall be paid
S wear not in this most sacred place
H ere come not but with awful grace
A nd whoe'r rings with Spur & Hat
M ust sixpence pay & forfeit that.

and another from the belfry of Cartmell Church:—

If you come here to ring a bell
With hand & ear you must ring well
Should you your bell to overthrow
12 pence you pay befor you go
If we for you the changes ring
You must to us a shilling bring

& 6 pence too without demur
If you appear in hat or spur
& if above you choose to go
You 6 pence pay or stay below.

The year 1687 brought a catastrophe to the church, which is explained by Schoolmaster Robinson in a note written—probably at a later date—on the blank page facing that year's accounts :—

"You must understand that the first bell in these "Churchwardens beginning of their time as people "were ringing one Sabbath day evening came "downe brought both Lofts mostly downe with it "espetially broke all the maine timbers of the "Lower Loft & stroke halfe ouer head through the "flaggs into the ground & hurt none nor harmd it "selfe and was got up againe new wheele new "Lofts & the Leads on the top of the steeple (w^ch^ "were pillaged in the time of the Civill Warrs and "by remisness of the Clark and for want of a lock "on the Steeple door) new Laid and the two ends "done with stones and the roof new slated by w^ch^ "means these wardens who thought to have done "as little as they could proued to have their hands "full all the year as by their s^d^ acc^ts^ appear."

"H. R."

During the year 1688, further repairs were made :

to the smith's bill about the bells makeing new baldrix's pins, nailes, rings, forelocks wedges 2^s.^ for a new Spade for the Church 8^d.^ of our iron 2^d.^ washing the Linnens all	00 : 11 : 08
to ex: our Selues & other assistant^ts^ to take up 2 bells & Letting them downe - - - -	00 : 03 : 06

after which only small items occur until the year 1723, when the old peal of three bells was replaced

by a ring of five, which in their turn called the Wallasey folk to the old church for upwards of a century and a quarter.

The three old bells were, as appears by the accounts, sent to Bristol, being taken by the bell-founders—Luke Ashton, of Wigan—in part payment for the new peal, the balance, amounting to £60 11s. 7d., paid by the churchwardens, being raised by church leys, as follows:—

"Sept. 23, 1723.

"We whose names are underwritten being meet "according to the notice given last Sunday in the "church do allow the present Church Wardens "John Robinson and Joshua Young to gather ten "shillings p^r^ Oxgange thro' the Parish, for a "Church Ley towards paying for Casting Buying "Timber and Hanging the Bells. Witness our "hands the day and year above written."

"Isaac Hyde Cu' Joseph Bird Tho. Robinson "Henry Bird Tho. Richardson Tho. Cotton "John Mullinix."

This ley brought in a sum of £75 15s. 0d., in addition to which the churchwardens "Resaued "from the Jentelmen, 11 : 00 : 6," and two smaller sums from the bellfounder—"Return of money "from the bellfounder for 29 Pound of metell which "was chiped of the bells, 01 : 09 : 0," and "Re-"turn'd by the Bell-Founder to the Parish, "02 : 10 : 0."

The resident "Jentelmen" of this period were Mr. Tho. Meoles of Wallasey Hall, Mr. Ed. Mainwaring of Poolton Manor, and Mr. Chas. Bunbury; Thomas Urmson gave £5.—"Spent with Thomas "Ourmson when Wee Resauved his five Pound—"00 : 05 : 6."

The sums collected as above not proving sufficient for the expenses incurred in casting and hanging the bells, in addition to the usual yearly disburse-

ments, another meeting was held, Feb. 13, 172$\frac{3}{4}$, at which a further ley of 3s. per oxgang was granted, which raised the necessary amount.

A note in the Account Book gives the weights of the old and new peals :—

"Memorandum.

"The Weight of the three old, and the five New Bells.

	C.	Q.	L.	C.	Q.	L.
"Old Bells—1. &c.....	9	2	6			
2.	9	0	15			
3.	11	3	9			
Tot.				30	2	2

"New Bells—	C.	Q.	L.	O.
1.	4	2	11	8
2.	5	1	15	8
3.	6	1	22	8
4.	7	3	27	0
5.	9	3	22	8
Steps .	0	2	17	8
Tot.	35	0	4	8

	£	s.	d.
Ball. at 14^{d} p^{r} Pound 4 : 2 : 9 : 8	29	19	1
Casting	30	0	0
Boxes.....	00	12	6
Tot.	60	11	7"

which was "pade to the bellfounder."

There are no further entries of importance in the old volume of Accounts, closing in 1751, and the peal of five bells hung unchanged in the old steeple until a few years before the fire.

Wallasey bells rang out with great regularity every fifth of November, and on other occasions as well :—

1689.	to ex. at the Coronacon day, April 11th - - - - - - -	0 : 03 : 04
	to ringing last 11th of Ap: ex: & ex: on seuerall pshionrs same time - - - - - - - - -	0 : 00 : 06
1728.	To Ringing on his majesty's Coronation day - - - -	0 : 01 : 00
1745.	To the Ringers on the Retreat of Rebels - - - - - -	0 : 02 : 06
1746.	To Exps on Thanksgiving Day for the Victory at Culloden -	00 : 09 00

In the year 1853, a sixth (treble) bell was added to the peal by the parishioners, and four years later came the fire; the flames rushed up through the tower as through a blast furnace, "the loud voci-"ferous bells" fell "clashing, clanging" to the pavement, and, instead of calling the people to church on that memorable Sunday morning, lay silent and broken at the foot of the charred and empty steeple.

The fragments of the bells were gathered up and the metal used for the new peal of six bells, hanging in the present church, cast by Messrs. J. Taylor & Co., of Loughborough, by whose kindness I am able to give the following particulars of the old peal of 1723:—

Bell.	Diameter. Ft.	in.	Weight. Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	Inscription.
Treble....	2	1½	3	1	15	Presented by the Villagers of Wallasey and other parishioners as a mark of devoted attachment to the house of God. A.D. 1853. Frederic Haggitt, M.A. Rector. Joseph C. Ewart, William Chambres, Churchwardens.

Bell.	Diameter. Ft.	in.	Weight. Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	Inscription.
2nd Bell..	2	3½	4	1	10	Luke Ashton in Wigan made us all, 1723.
3rd Bell..	2	7	5	0	17	Gloria Deo in excelsis, 1723. WIGGAN.
4th Bell..	2	8½	6	1	7	John Robinson, Joshua Young, Churchwardens, 1723. WIGGAN.
5th Bell..	2	10½	7	3	7	Let us sound to the honour of Christ and to the glory of All Saints.
Tenor	3	0¾	9	0	7	I to the church the living call and to the grave do summons all. Memento mori, 1723. Mr. Thomas Arson.
Total Weight			36	0	7	

The five older bells were ornamented with a crowned "G R" on the waist, a band of oak leaves round the top, and one of roses round the rim. I have not come across any mention of "Mr. Thomas Arson," or of that name in connection with Wallasey.

The new peal of six bells was cast by the above firm at a cost of about £200, but of these I regret I have no particulars. May they long continue to ring out from Wallasey Hill, Sunday by Sunday and year by year, answering the sweet bells of Bidston across the marsh, calling the Wallasey folk to Wallasey Church, mourning with us and rejoicing with us, and "sounding to the honour of Christ and the glory of All Saints."

APPENDIX C.

THE ROGATION PROCESSION.

"That every man might keep his owne possessions,
"Our fathers us'd, in reverent Processions,
"(With zealous prayers, and with praisefull cheere,)
"To walke their parish-limits once a yeare;
"And well knowne markes (which sacrilegious hands
"Now cut or breake) so bord'red out their lands,
"That ev'ry one distinctly knew his owne;
"And many brawles, now rife, were then unknowne."
—Wither's *Emblems*, 1635.

One of the most interesting parts of Robinson's Account is his description of how "our Parsons "went their Procession," which in Wallasey, and in Robinson's day, had not degenerated into the ceremony of Beating the Bounds, with the accompanying swishing of the boys, or, as far as we can gather from the account, into that debauch which in many places distinguished the Gang Week,—"the "rage and furour of these uplandysh processions "and gangynges about, which be spent in ryotyng "and in belychere." The "ale and cakes" and "entertainment" indulged in by the Wallasey people may not, of course, have been the modest refreshment which it appears to be, but as far as we can tell the Wallasey procession was quiet and orderly, like that of George Herbert's Country Parson:—"Particularly he loves procession, and "maintains it; because there are contained therein "four manifest advantages: First, a blessing of "God for the fruits of the field: secondly, justice "in the preservation of bounds: thirdly, charity "in loving, walking, and neighbourly accompanying "one another; with reconciling differences at that "time, if there be any: fourthly, mercy in relieving "the poor by a liberal distribution and largess,

"which at that time is or ought to be used. "Wherefore he exacts all to be present at the "perambulation: and those that withdraw and "sever themselves from it, he mislikes and reproves "as uncharitably and unneighbourly."

The Rogation Days—the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday next preceding Holy Thursday, or Ascension Day—have been appropriated to prayer and "humble supplication for a blessing on the "fruits of the earth at this season blossoming "forth" from early Christian times, combined, in England, with a perambulation of the parish bounds. One of our Church Homilies is composed particularly for use on this occasion, and is divided into three parts for the three different days. The Injunction of Queen Elizabeth says—"The people "shall once a year, at the time accustomed, with "the curate and substantial men of the parish, walk "about the parishes as they were accustomed, and "at their return to church make their common "prayers; provided that the curate in the said "common perambulations, as heretofore in the days "of Rogations, at certain convenient places, shall "admonish the people to give thanks to God, in "the beholding of God's benefits, for the increase "and abundance of his fruits upon the face of the "earth, with the saying of Psalm civ, *Benedic, ani-*"*ma mea*, &c.; at which time also the same mini-"ster shall inculcate this and such like sentences—"'Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and "'dales of his neighbour,' or such other words of "prayer as shall be hereafter appointed." And in "Articles of Enquiry within the Archdeaconry of "Middlesex," 1662, occurs:—"Doth your Minister "or Curate, in Rogation Dayes, go in Perambula-"tion about your Parish, saying and using the "Psalms and Suffrages by Law appointed, as viz.: "Psalm 103, & 104, the Letany and Suffrages,

"together with the Homily, set out for that end "and purpose? Doth he admonish the people to "give thanks to God, if they see any likely hopes "of plenty, and to call upon him for his mercy, if "there be any fear of scarcity; and do you, the "Churchwardens, assist him in it?"

The bounds of the parishes and other spots were marked by Gospel Trees, Stones, or Crosses where pauses were made in the procession, and which were always objects of superstition, being used at funerals as in Note 33, and always being kept on the right hand by the careful wayfarer. These crosses were adorned with flowers, and in a sermon preached at Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire, in 1570, the preacher mentions "Your Gospelles at Super-"stitious Crosses, deck'd like Idols," and says, "The Sinnes committed betweene Easter and "Whytsontyde, they were fully discharged by the "pleasant Walks and Processyons in the rogyng, "I should say, Rogation Weeke."

In Wolverhampton it was the custom to sing *Benedicite Opera Omnia* during procession, probably in addition to the regular Psalms, 103 and 104, a custom which also obtained in Wallasey. The Collect for Rogation Sunday, beginning "O "Lord, from whom all good things do come," was used during the three days, as well as the Litany, and the Homily mentioned above. According to Salisbury Use, an Epistle and Gospel were appointed for each day, but at the present time our Prayer Book only contains those for the Sunday.

The Wallasey Procession appears to have died out before the date of Robinson's account (1720). He mentions having gone the walk with Mr. Fetherstone, appointed in 1661, and Mr. Swinton, 1674, "but not all of a day"; but I am inclined to think that this was merely going over the ground, and that the procession may have been

dropped before the Restoration, when a Puritan minister would have viewed with horror the "superstitious gadding" and praying at crosses. Robinson also says that one of the Gospel Stones "was broken and taken away by Ball," who was churchwarden in 1666, and that "part of the "ground where the s[d] Flowers were strewed, and "reading used is walled in by Mr: Runkhorn "setting a new stone wall and gate where never "was any before." He would hardly have written such a circumstantial account of an annual custom, had it been in existence at the time of his writing; and I am more inclined to this view as he makes no mention of two great Wallasey events of his day, *i.e.*, the Races, which were in full swing at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and the Wake, which existed until the middle of the present century.

On the morning of the fifth Monday after Easter, late in April, or early in May, "the Old and Young "People Dress't in White Attended at the Parson-"age house" on the slope of Wallasey Hill, below the old Church, and, with the Parson, went thrice about the Village Cross, which stood, I suppose, at the foot of the Church hill, and the junction of Breck Road, the Gutter, and the village street, and then "down the town." Turning to the right, near the north end of the village, through Urmson's Yate (Hampson's Yard, W. 315-17), they walked up Sandy Lane (running through Long Ditch Hey, W. 347-50) to the top of the hill, where Claremount School now stands. Here—whilst overlooking the sea and the fair plains of Wirral, with the Welsh mountains in the background and Black Combe peeping over Formby Point—they lifted up their voices in singing the *Benedicite*: "O, all ye works "of the Lord, bless ye the Lord; praise him, and "magnify him for ever"; and following the line of

the present field-path,[47] through a field called by Robinson "Watts Cabin Hey," and Old Field Hey (W. 434), came "to a stone which stood near the "marle pit in Kirby Sytch," *alias* "The Captain's Pit," where the Epistle and Gospel were read. They then proceeded "up Kirby Sytch to another Gospel "Stone which stood at ye foot of the Kirkway in "the great lane that leads from Liscard to the "Hose." As explained in Note 33, Kirby Sytch and the Kirkway probably followed the course of Mount Pleasant Road, the narrow footpath into Earlston Road, and Earlston Road, the "great "lane that leads from Liscard to the Hose" being Rake Lane.

This Cross then, stood near the junction of Earlston Road and Rake Lane, or more likely near the top of Earlston Road, and "was Usually "Strow'd about with flowers, where the Young "Ones usually play'd. After Gospel read . . . . . "they proceeded thro' Liscard fields and had some "reading near those butt Ends called the Loons" (L. 313), probably along the course of Withins Lane and Rice Lane to where Egremont now stands, "under Seacombe way"—*i.e.*, through the fields between the Mersey and the old road from Seacombe to Liscard—and so came to "Molleney's door," I suppose near Seacombe Ferry, where they were entertained with ale and cakes, and so finished the first day's procession.

"The next morning they met there and went to "Gaunder Young's *alias* Alexander Young's where "they had reading and Entertainment, this is the "2nd day."

Alexander Young's must also have been in Seacombe, for on the morning of the third day

47 The upper part of this path used to be called, at Claremount School, "Swot Lane," doubtless for the facilities it offered for the uninterrupted study of Captain Marryat and Fennimore Cooper's erudite works.

"they met there and proceeded thro' the fields "towards Pooltown, and about the middle of "Williamson now T. Bird's Platkin Hey read "Epistle and Gospel." The route followed in this section of the procession still exists—alas! how changed—in a path running from near Seacombe Church to Poolton, and lying between the Poolton road and the Pool. It has been described to me as a beautiful walk in the days before the conversion of the Pool into docks; when the green fields sloped down to the water on either side of the Pool, along the banks of which this path ran, crossing the several creeks by small wooden bridges. Even now, on a winter's afternoon, with the sun setting behind Bidston Hill, its light reflected in the water, the bare masts of the shipping and the leafless trees of Poolton standing out against the frosty sky, the smoke of Birkenhead, and the lurid glare of the forges,—this walk, or that along the higher road, still has its charm; indeed, what walks have not, to those who know them well? This path runs through the middle of Platkin Hey (P. 226-27, 246-56), past Manor Farm, crossing Sherlock Lane and into Lime Kiln Lane, which runs past Poolton Manor, and into Poolton Village, where stood "Hough's house now belong-"ing to the School." After stopping there, the processioners journeyed towards Wallasey, calling on the way at "Mr: Dury's now Mr: Bumburry's, "at both which last houses they had Entertain-"ment, and so brought the Parson home."

If "Henry Robinson, Schoolmaster," could go this walk again, he would be considerably astonished at some of the changes that have taken place since his day—changes which are by no means all for the better.

APPENDIX D.

VARIOUS NOTES FROM THE REGISTERS.

(1.) A true & p'fect Transcript of the note Signed & Subscribed by the p'sons under named Registred & examined p' Hen: Robinson.

Wee whose names are hereunder written being fully Satisfied that in the Year 1667 Severall Cattle were Imported from Ireland and Landed in our p'sh contrary to an Act of parliam^t^ & upon the afores^d^ Inhabitants driuing them to the Markett to make Sale of them were stopt by Severall of the Countrey & being they would not be stopt therefore the Stoppers Indited thirty eight of the S^d^ Inhabitants most of them being poor Labouring men, & John Dobbs the then p'sent Church warden haueing some money in his hands that was raised from Cattle soe Imported & Landed as afores^d^, would pay Seventeen pound for paying the ffees of those poor men that soe there might be a Bond made to him and his Successors till the afores^d^ pshioners should Consider further of it, & seuerall that were compassionate to the poor, and to prevent their being throwne into prison executed a bond as afores^d^ & wee being satisfied that those that entred into the s^d^ bond had not one penny of the s^d^ Seventeen pound for their proper use but the same was Laid out for the use afores^d^ & whereas the s^d^ John Dobbs haueing many Yeares Since parted wth the S^d^ Bond & the same being amongst us & considering y^t^ in process of time the true cause of entring into the s^d^ Bond may not be knowne thereupon we consent and are willing that the s^d^ Bond should be deliuered up to be cancelled & we unanimously consent thereunto & set our Hands the Second day of August

in the Year of our Lord one thousand six Hundred Eighty & seven.

Henry Meoles	Geo: ffinlowe	Tho: Swinton	
Wm Meoles	John Young		Rector
Henry Bird	peter Wilson	Robt Hill	Church
Robt Wilson (R)	Rich: Griffieth (R)	Wm Yong	Wardens
Tho: Deane (T)	John Deane		
phillip Wilson	Joseph Walker	EdwardLitherland	
Tho: Johnson	PeterPemberton		
Tho: Sherlock Junr	John Mullenex		

(2.) A true Transcript of the original note Subscribed by the p'sons underwritten Registred and examined p Hen : Robinson.

Whereas Thomas Swinton, Charlotte Meoles, & Henry Yong all of the p'sh of Wallezey did enter into A Certain Bond of twelve pound or thereabouts to Tho: Tassy then Churchwarden of Wallezey for the use of the poor of the afores^d^ p'sh Wee therefore whose names are here Subscribed being mett to Consult about the Consernes of the poor are Content uniammously to remit to the afores^d^ Tho : Swinton the Sum of ffour pounds wth all Interest of the Same and all Charges of Suite by reason he hath promised to Secure unto the p'sh the Sum of eight pounds in Witness whereof we haue hereunto put our hands this third day of August 1687.

Henry Meoles
Edward Litherland
Peter Wilson — Robert Hill
Tho Johnson (T) — Churchwarden
John Deane
John Mullenex
Joseph Walker

Peter Pemberton
William Bird
Thomas Richarson

(3.) Accounts of Joseph Walker and Joseph Hill overseers of the Poor of the Township of Wallezey Anno Dom 1688.

		s
Rec:	from Joseph Kennyon for Interest -	02 : 00
	from Robt Heskieth - - - - -	02 – 00
	from Jane Gill - - - - - - -	02 : 00
		06 – 00
Dis:	to Tho: Robinson for butter and milk for Eliz: Johnes - - - -	01 : 00
	to the Miller for grotes for her - -	00 : 09
	to money to pay where she owed -	01 : 01
	to straw to thatch her house and to more butter - - - - - - -	01 : 02
dis:	to Robt Letherland milk and butter	00 : 10½
	to ½ measure of barley for him -	01 : 01½
		06 – 00

Hen: Meoles — William Gill
Peter Wilson — Thomas Richardson
Hen: Robinson

In connection with the above extract, the following entries in the accounts of the Poor's Money may be quoted:—

1693. to Robt Gill als old Coronall for reliefe in his & his wifes weakeness - - - - - - - 0 : 03 : 02
to dressing & cleansing Catty Johnes her Legg a full year - 2 : 00 : 00

to dressing & cureing Matt Ball
of a scall head - - - - - - 0 : 10 : 00
to dressing & cleanseing Widd
Jones Eldest girls Legg - - 0 : 05 : 00
1699. to a shift for Anne Allen - - 01 : 06
to A threaue of straw for Eliz:
Robinson - - - - - - - 00 : 04
to Leading of Eliz: W^m^sons
turves - - - - - - - - - 00 : 08
to one yeares washing and
Lodgeing Anne Allen - - - 10 : 00

(4.) June 11th 1700.

Wee the Inhabitants of the p'sh whose names are hereund^r^ written being the day aboues^d^ assembled & mett to Consider of p'sh business & settling Acc^ts^ for the year 99 have made these orders following—

Imp^s^ we allow for expences for the gathering of every Church Ley two shillings.

Itm expencs to be allowed to every visitacõn half a Crowne apeice for the Ward^ns.^

It: for ringing the 5th of November yearly fiue shillings.

As witness our Hands

Church Wardens for Ano 1700 { Samuel + Johnson
Joshua Young

C. Bunbury
Edward Litherland
James Gordoun
Peter Willson
Jo: Walker
William + Bird
Wm Rushton

(5.) The Parish Clerk's Wages;—

May 15 1729.

We whose names are Subscribed being met according to notice given in the Church on Sunday Last to fix and Settle the Parish Clarks wages, we do settle them as follows, viz.:

	d
That Every Estate of Three Oxganges and upwards Pay - - - - - - - - - - - -	06
That Every Estate from one Oxgange to Three Oxganges Exclusively Pay - - -	04
That Every Estate of one Oxgange Pay - -	03
That Every half oxgange or quarter oxgange or Cottage Pays to the Clark - - - - -	02

As witness our hands

Edw: Yong
John Mullinix — Isaac Hyde Cu[t]
John Robinson
Thomas Cotton — Tho[s] Richardson
John Wilson — John + Dean (His mark) } Church Wardens
James Rainford
Benj: Ranford

This entry is referred to in the following;—

April 10 1732.

We whose names are Subscribed being met according to notice given in the Church on Sunday last, Do hereby order and appoint the Church Wardens for the time being to Gather and Collect the parish Clarks Wages, as settled on the opposite page, and we hereby give them power to sue for the same, if refused or detained, and allow them the Charges out of the Church-Leys, as witness our hands.

Edw: Yong — Isaac Hyde
John Robinson
James Rainford
Tho[s] Richardson

May 7th 1741.

We whose names are Subscribed being met in a Vestry or parish Meeting according to notice given in the Church on Sunday last to Settle and appoint the parish Clark's Wages Do Order and appoint that the Church Wardens for the time being do pay unto the said Clark for the time being the Sum of One pound ten Shillings yearly out of the Church Ley and that the said Clark Do gather and Collect two pence pr Cottage from every inhabited Cottage thro' the parish as witness our hand the day and Year abovewritten.

Isaac Hyde
Joseph Robinson
John Hilliard
Israel ⊕ Gleave
His mark
Tho: Strong
Thos Hill
Thomas Ormson
James Rainford
John Mullinix

The last Parish Clerk was dismissed for defalcations by Rector Haggitt, who was appointed anno 1850.

APPENDIX E.

The following is a transcript of an agreement the original of which is in the possession of Mr. George Harris, of Liscard Village, a descendant of one of the signatories :—

Circular Ink Stamp "Nine Pence pr Quire" — Three embossed 6^{d} Stamps.

Be it known to all men whom it may concern that whose names are here Under Subscribed being in habitance of the Township of Liscard in the County of Chester do Covenant agree one with another to destroy all the Rapits [on the waren or Coney borrow][48] on the Common Commonly Called or known by the Name of Liscard Hoes Where As Jno Hough of Liscard Claims a property to the Rapits in that [Waren or Coney-borrough] ground Which we the Said Inhabitance of Liscard here after mentioned do not alowe the S^{d} Jno Hough to have any right or property to the Rapits [or Waren] in the above Mentioned Liscard hoes any more then any other person in the Said Township And further it is agreed a-Mongst us that if he the Said Jno Hough after the destroying of the Said Rapits in the a-bove Mentioned ground Shall Cause a Suit of Law to Commence we the Said Inhabitance do here by these presence firmly bind themSelves unto each other in the pane of twenty pound of lawfull money of great Britain if any one of us after the Sining and Delivering of these presence Shall offer or Refuse to Stand to this Agreement that Signs the Same Shall forfitt and pay the Above Mention'd sum of twenty pounds which Said Sum of Money Shall go towards Carrying on a Suit of Law if one should happen

[48] The words in square brackets are erased in the original.

to commence from the Said Jn° Hough if he denies to Show is property to the said [Waren] Rapits And it is further agreed—What every Expence or Charges yt may be expended In Relation to this afair every person Concern'd in this Agreement Shall pay in proportion to the Legal Towns Assessment And likewise it is further Agreed that if it Should So happen that if one of us Should be brought before a Justes of the peace or any other trouble be brought on one of us Withou the the Rest by the Said Jn° Hough for killing and destroying these Said Rapits that all us the Said inhabitance do hereby join all to geather according to the true Intent and meaning of these presence what ever trouble or Charge one of us Comes to we are all liable to the same In Witness Whereof the parties to these presence have Interchangeable put their hands and Seals this twelfth day of December and In the twenty fifth year of the Reign of our Soverign Lord George the Second of Great Britain king Defender of the faith france and Irland &c. and in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and fifty three-four.

Sign'd Seald the paper being first Leagualy Stampt According to Law in ye presence of us

John Mullinex

Joseph Platt
Thomas Brown
Margrett Tyrer
John Dean
John × Mullinex his mark

Wm WS Strong his mark
Tho: Strong
Joseph Robinson
Tho Dean T his mark
Daniel Robinson
Joseph Kenyon

Jonathan Dean
John Wilson
John Dean
Thomas Stanley
W:m Λ Evans his mark
Robt Richardson

APPENDIX F.

FIELD NAMES.

The following field names occur in the Tithe Maps of the Parish of Wallasey, omitting all such as Old Field, New Hey, Town Field, &c.

IN THE TOWNSHIP OF WALLASEY.

39 42	Cop Field.[49]
58	Rush hey.
59	The Hooks.
152	Hand Staff.
155 174	Salt hey field.
156	Salt Croft.
169	Salty field.
171-2	Saltway Meadow.
287	Salt Hey croft.
163	Locker Hey.
175	Kettle well garden.
176	Wallacre and Poplady.
194-5	Crook Hey.[50]
198-9	Stanish Hey.
200	Flook Hey.
203	Tar Hey.
232-6	Marled Hey.
238-9	Crushes, or Cushes Meadow.
244	Moor Hey.
246	Intake.[51]
253a	Delph Hey.[52]
Do.	Little Brook Hey.
255	Gorsey field.

49 Cop—a hedge bank.

50 The Near C.H. and Far C.H. of Robinson, and Tun C.H. and Na. C.H. of Note 20.

51 *I.e.*, an "intake" from the common.

52 From its proximity to the quarry.

256 362 421	Breck Hey.
307	Hill's Croft.
315-17	Hampson's Yard.[53]
433a	Pye's Yard.[54]
341-2-3	Sandy Hey.
345-8-9, 425-8 439	Sand field.
352-3-4	Braddy field hey.[55]
358	Sparrow croft.
367	Rye Grass field.
419	Rye field.
375-6	Flagfield, or Endridge.[56]
379	Endridge.[56]
384	Stoney Rake.
390	Three-Nook Cake.[57]
391-6	Black butt hey.
397	Black butts.
394-5	Stock up butt hey.
405	Fearmy Flat.
410	Lumpy.[58]
413-4-7-8-24	Widmuss.
420-3	Wardsmeer.
422	Meadow Spot.
427	Foss's Hey.
433	Wynny Hey.
450	Stone bark.
240	Mill hey.
347-50	Long Ditch hey.
406-7-16	Red Lound hey.
424a 426	Farther do.
411	Lower Loons.[59]

53 A corruption of Urmston.

54 The "Rathborn's Yard" of Robinson.

55 From "Bradow," to spread, or cover with manure.—Leigh's *Ches. Gloss.*

56 From the fencing of flags set on end.

57 From its triangular shape.

58 Probably from the nature of the soil.

59 These "Loons," or "Lounds," appear to be strips of land in one field, let to different people. The name occurs in the other townships.

357 a to k Loons in Braddy field.
364 a to g, 374 a to d Lounds in Town field.
366 a to e Do. in Wallasey do.
392 a to d Do. in Liscard do.

IN THE TOWNSHIP OF LISCARD.

4 Bank Hey.[60]
14-5-6-7 Bank Field.[60]
28 Peartree Butts.
34 Cambrick Hey.
38 Near Rice Hey.
75 Middle Moor Hey.
81, 192-3-4-5-7, 199 200-1-7-8 Moor Hey.
90, 98 Long and Further Golacre.
97 340-1-2 Dunland Hey.
126 Swan's Croft.
127 Flagg field.[61]
133-4-5 Flatacre Hey.
160 Rowlands Croft.
247 Gorsey field.
266-7, 377-96-7, 371-2-3 381 Sandfield, Big do., and Little do.
273 Rake Hey.
274 Old Town Hey.
275 Orchard Pea.
280 Runcorn's Yard.
283 Hamlet's Yard.
317-8 Longlands Hey.
330 Withins—hence Within's Lane.
331-2 Ransacre Hey.

60 From their position on the top of the river bank.
61 From the fence of flags set on end.

333-4 Big and Little Ton Acre.
337-8 Hip Acre, and Hip Acre Hey.
343 Knot Croft.
344 Whartons Croft.
369 Warm Grove Hey.
398 Wallacre.
485 Stone Bark.
268-315 Mill field.
313 Looms (? Loons).

IN THE TOWNSHIP OF POOLTON.

26-7-8 Bank Hey.[62]
38-42-44-5 Moor Hey, and Lower do.
118-141 Riding Hey.
143 Money Part.
168-9-174 White land Hey.
176-215-17-24 Dale Hey.
178-9-205 Big and Little Flook Hey.
180-2 Gravelland Hey, and Little do.
198 Yards end.
202 Duck field Hey.
204 Still land Hey.
218-19 Farland Hey, and Little do.
221-2-329-30 Renwell Hey.[63]
225 Fatan Hey.
226-7-46-7–56 Platkin Hey.
228 Apple Ditch Hey.
229 Shebster's Meadow.[64]
230 Winters Hey.
232 Longland Hey.
236 Smithy Hey.
235 Smithy Butt.
142 Pikey Loons.
177 Cross Loons.

[62] On the top of the river bank.
[63] Perhaps from "running well."
[64] Shebster = Starling.

237	Crook Hey.
240	Butlands Hey.
241	Twistle Hey.
243	Brier Ridge.
244-5	Sunderland Hey.
248	Gorsty Hey.
257-8	The Hooks.[65]
263-4-5-6-7a	Allotment on do.
268	Haddock Hey.
291	Breck Hey.
269	Joshua's Croft.
292	Mill Hey.
319	Slang.
324	Cuff Hey.
328	Sitch.[66]
332	Greedy Butt Hey.
210-1-2	Big and Little Cock Butt.
220-3	Black butt Hey.

The following field-names mentioned by Robinson I have not identified :—Cross Acre Hey, Liscard ; Liscard Longways, The Moss ; Watts Cabin Hey, Wallasey—probably that field south of Claremount School through which the field-path runs ; and Kirby Sytch, mentioned as " Cerbesitch Hay," containing 2 acres 1 perch, in a terrier of Liscard of about the middle of the last century, in which are also mentioned Hamstock Meadow, Nar Hay, Hippocar, Hartecor, Craftelance, and Bansecor. Randscoff Hey was bought by the School, with money left by Mr. William Meoles.

The following are quoted by Mr. Hance, in *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.*, vol. xxxv, from Harl. MS. 2039 :—In Liscard—Sneyker

[65] " The Hooks " are the points or hooks of land between the creeks which branched from the Pool.

[66] " Sitch," or " sytch " : a ditch, dry in summer and wet in winter.

holland, Rysehey (Rice Hey, L. 38; *not* Rushey Hey, W. 58), Dunland, Rowlands and Rowlands Hollands, Tamacre (Camacre ?) hollands, a close called the Warmequ(im's) hey, brysse (brush) croft, Cross acres, Oldacres, Wome butts; and in Poolton-cum-Seacombe—Stywey croft, bottynbry dye pyke, the brewye, Kell londs, apodyche holland (Apple Ditch Hey, P. 228), grid butts, Welling londs, and Stokkeland.

The same feeling which prompted the old Kentish chronicler to open his History of the World with the words, "The World is divided into four parts—"Europe, Asia, Africa, and Romney Marsh," may have led me to note down many trivialities of neither interest nor value to the inhabitants of those three quarters of the globe which are not included in the ancient Parish of Wallasey. But some of these are worthy of record; and to me, writing, as I do, this 6th day of October, 1891, at Timmancherla, in the Madras Presidency, far from the dear, familiar scenes of childhood, they may seem unduly so. The green fields are gradually vanishing, old landmarks and old names are being lost; and as the few remaining fragments of older Wallasey disappear, those who keep its memory green, and who knew and loved the parish in days gone by, are also passing away—passing from the Island of the Strangers to "that Whiter Island, the Place of the Blessed"—and before long those things which are now only a memory will be altogether forgotten.

"Thus times do shift, each thing his turn does hold;
"New things succeed, as former things grow old."

NOTE.

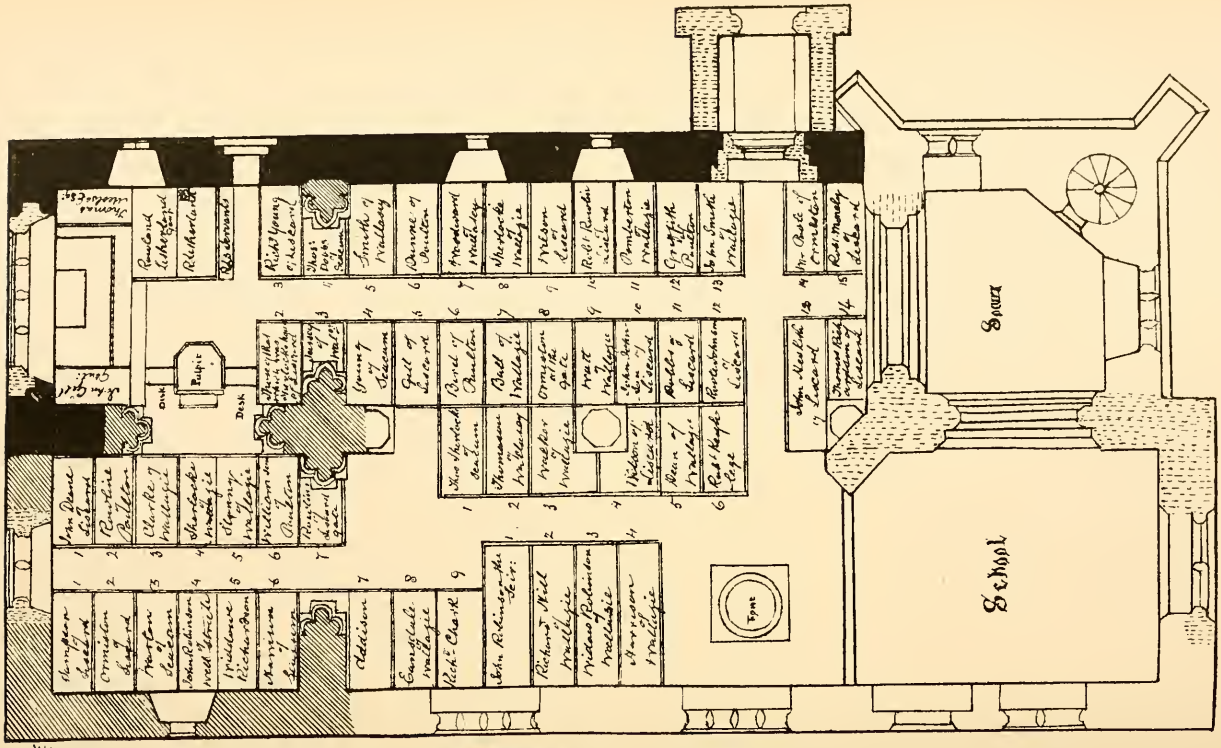
In a commission for the "seateing and placeinge of the "parishioners of the parishe Churche of Wallazie, dated 4th "March, 1633, and 21st April, 1634," the sites of the following seats are given:—Two reading seats, and the pulpit between them, on the north side of the lower chancel. In the upper chancel (the sanctuary), one pew on each side. Two seats and a form above the chancel door, and two seats below the chancel door; thirteen seats below these on south side. In the middle row—twelve on the south side, six on the north side. In the body of the church (? north aisle), on the north side, four seats. Behind the pulpit, in the north row, nine seats. In the south row, behind the pulpit, seven seats. Robinson's (the schoolmaster) seat is near the schoolroom, at the west end of the north aisle; and the space round the font was very commonly that occupied by the school children, seated on loose forms.

The pews thus described have been drawn upon a plan, compiled shortly after the burning of the church by Mr. Edward W. Cox,[67] from measured fragments taken out of the walls of the church of the eighteenth century, and other remnants of the original building. These seats, giving three feet width to each, seem to vouch for the entire correctness of this plan, inasmuch as they fit every part of it accurately; and the construction of the building, as shown on the plan, explains the cause of the variations in the number of pews in each block, and their allocation to their places with relation to the architectural features. A further witness to the general correctness of the plan is a small sketch of the church on a map dated 1665 and recently discovered by Mr. W. F. Irvine, which shows a church corresponding with the plan.

[The chief authorities for the statements in this paper are—The Parish Registers of Wallasey, and the Tithe and Ordnance Surveys; "Extracts from the Wallasey Church Registers," *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xxxv; "Notes on the History of Wallasey Church," *Journ. Chester Arch. Soc.*, 1886-7; Ormerod's *History of Cheshire;* Brand's *Popular Antiquities;* tradition; recollections of old parishioners; personal knowledge; and various other sources.]

[67] *Journal of Chester Archæological Society*, 1887.

PLATE III.



WALLASEY CHURCH. GROUND PLAN, WITH ALLOTMENT OF SEATS, 1665.

DISCLAIMERS AT THE HERALDS' VISITATIONS.

By J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.

Read 1st December, 1892.

FOR the information of those who have not paid much attention to the study of heraldry and genealogy, it may be as well, in the first place, to explain what the Heralds' Visitations were, in order that the meaning and effect of Disclaimers may be better understood.

Armorial bearings were originally assumed by their wearers at will, being, at first, merely intended to serve as distinguishing marks in the field of battle; but about the middle of the thirteenth century they became generally hereditary, and soon acquired a character which caused them to be highly valued and jealously guarded as ensigns of honour and symbols of patrician rank. Having thus become coveted hereditary distinctions, some check upon their voluntary assumption became necessary, to prevent unworthy and unsuitable persons displaying insignia to which neither their military achievements nor social status entitled them.

To effect this, King Henry V., upon instituting the office of Garter King of Arms,[1] made a pro-

[1] Ulster King of Arms, for the Kingdom of Ireland, was first appointed in the year 1554.

clamation, dated the 2nd day of June, 1417, to the effect that no man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, should assume arms, unless he held them by right of inheritance or by the donation of some person who had sufficient power to give them; and that all persons should make it appear to officers, to be appointed by the King for that purpose, by whose gift they enjoyed such arms as they respectively bore, excepting those who had borne arms with the King at the battle of Agincourt.

In the year 1420 the first regular chapter of the heralds, in their collective capacity, was held at the siege of Rouen *(Dallaway)*, but it was not until sixty-five years afterwards—on the 2nd day of March, 1484-5—that King Richard III. granted to them a charter of incorporation. Further privileges were conferred upon the heralds, in the year 1549, by King Edward VI., and, in 1555, Queen Mary granted to the College of Heralds a house called Derby House, in the Parish of St. Benedict, Paul's Wharf, London, the precursor of the present College of Arms in Queen Victoria Street.

Although there had been heralds acting, to some extent, as officers of arms in England from the thirteenth century, it was not until the reign of King Henry VIII. that any really systematic plan of recording armorial bearings and pedigrees was commenced by them. Before that time there had existed merely rolls of arms, such as the Roll of Carlaverock,[2] and certain collections of arms and pedigrees, very limited in their scope. In 1528, however, some of the officers of arms were commissioned by the Crown to make Visitations of, or in other words to visit, certain counties of England,

[2] A poem written in Norman French in the reign of Edward I., and containing an accurate blazon of the arms of 105 knights, who were present at the siege of Carlaverock Castle, in Dumfries-shire, with the King, in the year 1300.

for the purpose of preparing an official record of the armorial bearings and pedigrees of all such persons as were entitled, by their position in life, to what is sometimes called "visitation rank." Visitations were, in due course, periodically made at intervals for every county in England, and, after being neglected under the Commonwealth, were afterwards revived and continued until the year 1686, when they finally ceased. The pedigrees and arms recorded at these Visitations were carefully entered in manuscript volumes, still preserved at the College of Arms, which form the basis of heraldic and genealogical authority and contain an immense amount of information relating to the arms, quarterings and descents of some thousands of the ancient families of England.

In this way Lancashire was visited by the heralds in the years 1533, 1564, 1613 and 1664, and Cheshire in the years 1533, 1566, 1580, 1613 and 1663. The Lancashire Visitations have all been printed by the Chetham Society, and a volume containing much of the Cheshire Visitations of 1533, 1566, and 1580 has been issued by the Harleian Society.

The Commission, under the Great Seal of England, issued to Thomas Benolte, Clarenceux King of Arms, in the 20th year of the reign of King Henry VIII., for the first of the Heralds' Visitations, empowered him to convene and call before him or his deputy, at such time and place as he should appoint, "all persons that do pretend to "bear arms, or are styled Esquires and Gentlemen," and to require them to "produce and show forth "by what authority they do challenge and claim "the same." Full authority was given to the heralds to pull down or deface all arms wrongfully usurped, and to "make infamous by proclamation" at the assizes, or any general sessions, or elsewhere, all those who used arms without any right,

or assumed without authority the titles of Esquire and Gentleman.

In pursuance of the like commission the King of Arms, or Herald, issued a warrant directed to the High Constable or Bailiff of the Hundred, or to the Mayor or other chief officer of the place where he intended to hold his Visitation, commanding him to warn the several knights, esquires, and gentlemen within his jurisdiction, to appear before him at the house and on the day specified in the warrant, and to bring with them their escutcheons and pedigrees, with such evidences and writings as might justify the same, in order to their being duly registered. A warrant of this kind will be found in Mr. H. S. Grazebrook's *Visitation of Staffordshire, 1583*, published by the William Salt Archæological Society, and the same warrant is reprinted in the introduction to my little work on Disclaimers.

Some of the local gentry who were summoned to appear before the heralds, especially at the later visitations, did not show that alacrity in obeying the summons that the officers of arms had a right to expect, and we find that persuasion, in some cases, was attempted to induce their attendance. Thus, in a letter dated the 4th February, 1663, written by Sir William Dugdale,[3] Norroy King of Arms, to Mr. John Crew of Utkinton, he says:—

"I shall speedily send away my Warrants to summon those who appeared not when I was there, resolving to be at Chester on Saturday the 19th of March. If you have opportunity of discourse with any who came not to me, I shall desire that you will represent to them how fitt it is for them to enter their descents, and to submitt to such regularity in the bearing of their armes, as may be for the honour of their familyes, and restraint

3 At this time Dugdale was an esquire; he was knighted in 1677, on his appointment as Garter King of Arms.

"of inferior persons from usurping what they ought "not to have."[4]

In Lancashire Dugdale's summons was not treated with the respect due to an officer of the Crown, for a warrant was issued by him[5] to the Bailiff of the Hundred of Salford, dated the 2nd day of February, 1664-5, in the schedule to which seventy-three of the Lancashire gentry are named, as having neglected to appear before Sir William at the sign of the King's Head in Salford on the 9th day of September, 1664, "as well for the registringe their "descents and justifying their titles of Esquires "and Gentlemen as their right to such Coats of "Armes and Crests which they usually show forth "and bear"; and the bailiff is commanded to summon them at the King's Head on Saturday the 11th day of March, 1664-5. Then the warrant goes on to say that in case they refuse to attend, Sir William will be "enforced to adjorne them to attend "ye Lords Commissioners for the office of Earle "Marshall of England to answer y^r^ disobedience "and contempt of His Majesties commission."

Those of the gentry whose disposition and education inclined them to take a proper pride in their arms and descents and to obey the summons of the officer of their sovereign, came before the heralds at the time and place appointed, bringing with them whatever seemed likely to be useful in substantiating the arms and pedigrees which they wished to have entered in the Visitation Book. We can well picture to ourselves the interesting and often beautiful evidences that would be produced by well descended knights and esquires on such occasions: large vellum pedigrees with arms and effigies emblazoned in gold and colours, early charters in quaintly written characters with beautifully engraved pendent seals,

4 *Chetham Society*, vol. xxiv. *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. i.
5 *Ibid.*

grants and confirmations of arms, surrounded with elegantly illuminated scroll-work, and boldly painted panels, such as we have seen exhibited at the meetings of our Society.

If the evidence produced satisfied the heralds, the pedigree and arms were duly entered and were signed by the person who proved them, generally the head of the family. If, on the other hand, the whole of the descent was not satisfactorily established, the officers of arms frequently entered a short pedigree, the facts of which were within the personal knowledge of the applicant; a custom which rightly survives to the present day, in entering a pedigree in the College of Arms, in the rule that an applicant may enter his pedigree from his grandparents downwards without producing corroborative evidence, but all earlier generations are required to be strictly proved by certificates and other documents.

If there was any doubt about the arms displayed, the pedigree was entered without them, and respite was often given by the heralds to allow an opportunity of verifying such arms, which, when satisfactorily proved at a later date, were "allowed" and duly entered in the Visitation Book.[6] If, however, no proper proof was forthcoming, the user of the arms was compelled to petition for and obtain a grant from the Crown, or to suffer the ignominy of being publicly branded by proclamation as an usurper of arms and no gentleman. Thus, in the

6 There is a case on record in Harl. MS. 1470, in which a certificate was given to Stephen Longsdon of Longsdon, co. Derby, to bear certain arms, although he had at the Visitation "disclaimed the title of a gentleman under "his hand as not knowing how he might justifie the same," and was proceeded against according to the Commission, but had afterwards found that his "ancestors had been of long time reputed gentlemen and borne arms. . . . . "which he is able to prove by evidence and other good record." From this it is clear that the heralds were willing to restore the arms of which a man had deprived himself, if he conformed to the laws of arms and made proper proof of his right to armorial bearings.—(Introduction to *Visitation of Salop*, xxx.)

Visitation of Hereford, 1634, there is this note:— "John Philips, of Ledbury, to be disclaimed at our "next 'sizes, because he was not disclaimed at our "being in the country, being respyted then for "proofe, but cannot make any proofe." These proclamations are what are known as Disclaimers.

Letters written to Sir William Dugdale shew that, as Norroy King of Arms, he possessed a sway equal or almost superior to the authority of a secular sovereign; and we know from his diary how vigorously he defaced the false arms on monuments and pulled down the armorial standards and banners in some of the Lancashire and Cheshire churches, and how he commanded many of the gentry to attend the Earl Marshal's Court to answer their contempt of the King's commission.

Although suggestions have been made to the contrary, the heralds, as a rule, do not seem to have acted in a harsh or arbitrary manner in regard to the production of proofs in support of pedigrees; for, if requested, they would visit the houses of the gentry, to examine deeds and other family records, in cases where such evidences could not be conveniently produced at the time or place appointed by the summons.[7]

Again, in the matter of armorial bearings, the old heralds were not too exacting. In 1668, Sir William Dugdale writes to Mr. William Horsley:— "Therefore it will be requisite that he do look over "his own evidences for some seals of arms, for "perhaps it appears in them, and if so, and that "they have used it from the beginning of Q. Eliza-

7 The warrant, already referred to, which is printed in Mr. H. S. Grazebrook's *Visitation of Staffordshire, 1583*, contains the following:— "And these that may not comodiously bringe wth them such theire evidences "auncient writinges and monuments as would serve to prove the antiquitie of "their race and familye but shalbe desirous to have me home to their houses "upon the significatyon of such theire desires for the furtherance of Her "Maties service I will make my repayre unto them soe soone as conveniently "I maye."

"beth's reign, or about that time, I shall allow "thereof, for our directions are limiting us so to do, "and not a shorter prescription of usage."—*(Introduction to Visitation of Salop*, p. xxix.) So that, although no actual document granting or confirming the arms could be produced, Sir William was willing to admit a prescriptive right and to confirm and enter the arms if their use could be proved by seals from a date not later than about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The document by which such arms were allowed was known as a Confirmation of Arms. In these days the English heralds have no such discretion, and if any given armorial bearings are not on record in the College of Arms as belonging to a particular family they cannot be allowed. In Ireland, however, the old rule as to prescription and confirmation still prevails; the reason being that the collections of arms on record in Ulster's office are known to be imperfect.

To return to the subject of this paper. Those persons who had disobeyed the summons of the heralds were publicly disclaimed if they persistently refused to shew their right to the arms used by them; and also all those who had attended the summons, and, having been unable to prove the arms wrongfully used by them, continued such use in defiance of lawful authority.

During Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, taken in 1665-6, nearly one-third of the gentry who were summoned to appear before him neglected the summons. Two years after the conclusion of that Visitation, Sir William issued a precept to the High Sheriff of the County of York, appending the names of the persons who had treated the summons with contempt, and they were duly disclaimed at the York Assizes in 1668.

The Disclaimers were made "after sound of a "Trumpett" by proclamation at the market cross,

or some other convenient place, generally at the time of the Assizes, and a written proclamation was hung up charging the persons, whose names were written below, in the name of the Sovereign, "that "they nor any of them do from henceforth by any "ways or means use or take upon him or them the "names of Esquire or Gentleman, unless they be "thereunto authorised according to such order as "is prescribed and set forth by the Laws of Arms," and also commanding in the name of the Sovereign "all Sheriffs, Commissioners, Archdeacons, Officials, "Scriveners, Clerks, Writers, or others whatsoever, "not to call name or write in any Assize, Session, "Court, or other open place or places any one of "these persons by the addition of Esquire or Gen-"tleman, who at this present by this proclamation "are reproved, controled, and made infamous of "that name and dignity, as they or any of them "will answer to the contrary at their peril" to the Earl Marshal of England. A proclamation of this kind will be found before the list of persons disclaimed at Chester in 1664, printed at the end of this paper.[8]

It will be observed that the proclamation was directed against those who had assumed the title of esquire or gentleman contrary to the order prescribed by the laws of arms. In other words, the proclamation was against those who, by usurping arms to which they had no right, had assumed the rank and style of esquires and gentlemen, or had wrongfully assumed those titles, having no arms at all. This clearly appears in the heading to the list of persons disclaimed at the Visitation of Staffordshire, taken in the year 1583:—"The names of those "that in the time of this Visitacyon of Staffordshire

[8] For a copy of this document and of the lists of disclaimers in Harl. MS. 2142, I am indebted to Mr. George Grazebrook, F.S.A., whose Introduction to the *Visitations of Salop*, printed by the Harleian Society, will well repay a careful perusal.

"have made noe proofe of their gentry, bearing "noe armes, and yet, before tyme, had called and "written themselves gentlemen, and were therefore "disclaymed in the chiefe places of the Hundreds "wherein they dwell." For, by the Laws of Arms, gentlemen, strictly speaking, were those persons only who could shew a right to armorial bearings derived by direct male descent from a grantee of arms, or from one to whom arms had been allowed by the heralds; or those who were themselves grantees of arms. There were, however, others who, by virtue of their office or profession, were accounted gentlemen by reputation, though not entitled to bear arms, but their right so to describe themselves, like the right to a title of courtesy, did not descend to their posterity.

The word "gentleman" was not employed as a legal addition until about the time of King Henry V. In its original and heraldic sense it has the same meaning as "noble"; hence the French proverb, "*Je suis un gentilhomme comme le roi.*" This is well explained in *Coke upon Littleton*, vol. 2, p. 667:— "As in ancient [Roman] times statues or images "of their ancestors were proofs of their nobility," he quotes Juvenal, Satire 8, and Cicero, "*Nobiles* "*sunt qui imagines generis sui proferre possunt*, so in "later times Coat armes came in lieu of those "statues or images, and are the most certaine "proofes and evidence of nobility and gentry, so as "in these daies the rule is, *Nobiles sunt qui insignia* "*gentilicia generis sui proferre possunt.*" It thus follows that a man might be an esquire, or a knight, or even bear a title, and yet be *ignobilis*. Wharton, in his *Law Lexicon*, under "Nobilis" has "The "gentry are those who are able to produce armorial "bearings derived by descent from their own an- "cestors"; and, under "Armorial Bearings," the same author says:—"A device depicted on the "shield of one of the nobility; of which the gentry

"is the lowest degree. The criterion of nobility is "the bearing of armorial bearings received from "ancestry."

These laws of arms have been referred to as belonging to the past, but they still prevail, although the constant inappropriate use of the word gentleman, out of mere complaisance, has gradually extended its popular application so widely, that it would be difficult to define its exact meaning, as generally used in the present day, indeed it may be said to have lost its significance as a definite word.

Among the persons who were disclaimed by the heralds were many who could have proved their right to armorial honours with little difficulty if they had cared to do so, and this is especially noticeable in the later visitations. Probably many of them were satisfied with the knowledge that they had in their possession proofs that the heralds had allowed arms to their immediate ancestors, or they were too indolent to trouble themselves to search in their muniment chests for the required proofs, or they occupied themselves with field-sports and took little or no interest in their arms and pedigrees, and, perhaps, objected to pay the small charges which would be incurred by appearing at the Visitation. Many of the Puritans regarded arms and pedigrees as "vanities," seeing in them only a vehicle for false pride and ostentation, a charge too frequently, and very wrongly, brought against them in later days.[9] Some of the gentry seem to have

9 A writer in the *Spectator*, 21st April, 1881, in a very interesting article entitled "Pedigree-hunting," concludes with the following pertinent remarks: "We very much doubt whether the present love for pedigrees has anything to "do with that pride of birth which has been so conspicuous a feature in other "ages. Rather we believe that it is to be explained by the fact that the "horizon of human interest has been widening everywhere, and that the love "for the study of ancestry has developed with the general love for knowledge "which is everywhere steadily growing. A man now sets out to discover who "his ancestors really were, not to establish a claim to Norman blood. The "old pedigree-hunting was a sign of pride and pretension; the modern is "simply dictated by the desire to know whatever can be known. The one "advanced itself by methods of immoral advocacy; the other proceeds by "those of scientific research."

gone away from home for the purpose of avoiding the heralds, and others would not "be spoken "withal," though at home.

Some persons, not entitled to arms, were, no doubt, deterred, by the fear of expense, from obeying the heralds' summons. In the seventeenth century a grant of arms cost £20, and a confirmation £10; entering the pedigree cost a knight or baronet £2 : 15 : 0, an esquire £1 : 15 : 0, and a gentleman £1 : 5 : 0, and these were not small amounts in those days.

At the Visitation of Worcestershire in 1682, Joseph Ruthorn of Evesham tried to conciliate the heralds, attempting to make amends for his fault by promising to forbear using any coat-of-arms until he could make out what coat belonged to him. But he was disclaimed nevertheless.

Other persons were included among those disclaimed in an unjust fashion. Thomas Simonds of White Lady Aston, in Worcestershire, plaintively says, of arms, in 1634:—"I know of none of right "and further saith that his Father and Grandfather "were yeomen & so writ themselves"; and yet he was disclaimed.

Among the disclaimed there also appear persons styled "Dr.", "Mr.", and "Esq.", and also a number of rectors, vicars, captains and physicians. These were evidently included in the lists because they could not substantiate the arms used by them; for, although not entitled to armorial bearings, they would not be disclaimed for using an official title, unless they displayed arms wrongfully.

It is amusing to notice some of the entries made by the heralds, displaying a good deal of official righteous indignation. Thus they say, in the Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1623:—"Richard Warren "of Stainton falcely usurped Arms which were de-"faced and he disclaymed", and "Edward Hill,

"Customer of Gloucester, neither Gent. of Bloud, "Auncestry nor Arms." Walter Cary, at the Visitation of Bucks, 1634, is said to be "no gent, "nor hath any [right] to bear arms which he "usurpeth." Robert Wilmott, disclaimed at Derby, in 1634, "for usurping the Title of Gent, notwith- "standing having been disclaimed in the Visitation "made 1611." "Hugh Rogerson alderman and "Justice of Peace [of Chester] and served a small "time Maior in anno 1580, bereason Will'm "Goodman beinge Maior died that yeare; But he "knowethe of no Armes due or belonginge to him "nether desirethe nor deservethe any payns to be "taken for him; hee hathe yssue &c."[10]

The effect of the disclaimer upon Robert Griffiths, of Broomhall, in Nantwich Hundred, seems to have been immediate, for according to a MS. note in the College of Arms, his pedigree and arms were entered by Dugdale on the day after the disclaimer.

Arms were allowed at the Visitation of Lancashire, 1613, to William Dewhurst of Dewhurst, who was then aged 26. The William, mentioned in the list of persons who were disclaimed at the Lancaster Assizes in 1667, ~~may have been the same man — though he would then be 80 years of age, or his son or~~ was probably his/ by grandson. If so he was disclaimed owing to his contempt of the herald's summons.

The lists given below include all the now existing records of persons who were disclaimed by the heralds in Lancashire and Cheshire that I have been able to obtain; probably there are not any others in existence. The only disclaimers to be found in the College of Arms, relating to the Counties Palatine, are those made at Lancaster in 1667 and at Chester in 1664. The latter have been col-

[10] This is from the fragment of a visitation, preserved in Harl. MS. 2163, entitled: "Anno a natu xpi. 1591 for the Cittye of Chester taken by tho. "Chaloner for the Office of Armes &c."—(*Visit. of Chesh.*, Harleian Society.)

lated with the same list in Harl. MS. 2142 fo. 163, and the variations noted.

The names in these lists are far too numerous to admit of annotation, even if the labour of the work would be likely to lead to useful results; and it is improbable that this would be the case, for a large proportion of the names are those of persons in whom only a limited interest will be taken in the present day.

Disclaimers.

[Lancaster, 1667.]

[*College of Arms. C. 37.*][11]

Disclaimers made at the Assizes at Lancaster, 29 Aug: 1667.

Salford Hundred.

Ric. Greene	Aspull.
Ric. Smethurst	Birkle [Birtle.]
Jno. Lomax	Chesham.
James Halliwell	Hundresfield.
Roger Rogers	New Crast [~~Bolton?~~] Newcroft in Ha

Blackburne Hundred.

Wm. Dewhurst	Dewhurst.

Lonsdale Hundred.

Edw[d]. Briggs	Burrow.
Gabraell Crost	Clayton.

Amundernesse Hundred.

James Smith	Michop.

[11] Words in brackets are editorial additions.

Leyland Hundred.

Robt. Browne	Bretherton.
Willm. Radley	Crosshall.
..... Crispe	Parbold.

[West] Derby Hundred.

Ralph Browne	Ince [in] Makerfield.
..... Houlme	Maghull.
Thos Alcocke	Prestcote [Prescot.]
Robt. Walthew	Pemberton.
Theophilus Lincke [Lynch]	Rixton Hall [Sankey.]
Ambrose Jolly	Standish Gate [Wigan.]
..... Appleton	Widnes.

[*In a later hand:*—] A faithful and hearty Cavalier but his estate wasted & he lived by selling ale.

Richard Perceval	Leverpoole.

[Cheshire, 1613.]

[*Harl. MS. 2142, f. 163.*][12]

[Edisbury Hundred.]

Will'm Wright of Ince.
Randle Stoukdon of Haighton.
Peter Hale of Norley.
David Hinton of Ruston [Rushton.]
Thom's Sparke of Kingesley.
William Crewe of (the same)[13] Elton.
John Crewe of the same.[14]
John Horton of Althersey.
James Traves "*of Horton.*"
John Denson of Elton.
John Battrich of Barrowe.
Robt. Walker *of Aldersey.*

[12] Words in brackets are editorial additions.
[13] Words in parentheses are crossed out in the original MS.
[14] Words in italic type have been added in a later ink.

[Wirral Hundred.]

John Gill of Poulton.
Robt. *Gill* of Bromborowe.
John Robinson of Wallesey.
John Bennett *of Wallesy.*
John Yonge of ffrankby.
Tho: Hallwood of Sutton.
John Doe of Litle Saugh*all.*
James Doe of the same.
Ric. Clarke *of Saughall.*
Thom's Barlowe *of ye same.*
Wm. Hely of Newton.
Robt. Lennard of Irby.
Wm. Ball of Erresbye [Irby.]

[Broxton Hundred.]

John Madox of Edge.
Randle Moyle of Shotley.
Wm. Wright of Chomley.
Christopher Hasswall of Alford.
Urian Orton *of Croxon.*
Ric. Mounkeffield of Kinerton.
Raffe Astley of Belgrave.
John Astbrooke of Tattenhall.
Raynald ffindla of How mafield.
Thom's Deane of Church holme.

[Northwich Hundred.]

James Trevitt of Sproston.
Randle ffivion [Fithion] of Tetton.
Henry Bradshaw of Allostock.
Thomas Woodcock of Church holme.
Roger Neile of Shurlage [Shurlach.]
Thomas Borough of Warton.
John Pygott of Som'ford [Somerford.]
Thom's Hodgkinson of Smallwood.
John Layton of Snope.
Arthur Joynson of Warton.

[Nantwich Hundred.]

John Scott of Checkley.
Randle Poole of Alger.
Ric. Kettle of Beechton.
Hugh Brome *of same.*
Hugh ffurnivall *of same.*

Thomas Som'vile [Somerville] *of same.*
Wm. Shawe the yonger *of ye same.*
John Shawe of Belston *of ye same.*
John Gallymore *of the same.*
Wm. Gallymore *Idm* [idem.]
Wm. Gallymore *junr of the same.*
Ric. Shewe *of the same.*
Thom's Shewe *of the same.*
Wm. Shawe thelder *of same.*
Wm. Loe *of same.*
John Whellock *of same.*
John Turney *of same.*
Thom's Chartley *of same.*
Wm. Barmar (of Beston) *of same.*
Robt. Alsagar of Alsagar.
Thom's Knight of the same.
Thom's Smith of Checkley.
John Podmore of Hassall [in Sandbach.]
Robt. Lawton of Goshill.
Wm. Pratchett of Waterston [Worleston.]
Robt. Atherton of Warton.

[Bucklow Hundred.]

Robt. Peerson of Lachford.
John Hatton of the same.
John Middlehurst of the same.
Ric. Steele of Reddish [alias Caterich, in Grappenhall.]
Ric. Gamull of Appleton.
Edward Allen of Rosthorne.
Phillipp Downes of Tofte.
Gilbert Midleton of Stockton.
John Grantham of Hall [Hale.]
Ric. Wright of Astley [Ashley.]
John Parkington of Parkington [Partington].
Edward Harper of High Leigh.
Wm. Morrys of Grappenhall.
Thom's Shawe of Hogreauelane [Swinehead in High Leigh?]
Ric. Yearwood of Moberley.
Roger Worthington of the same.
Roger Simcocks of the same.
John Mather(ley) of Moberley.
John Strettey [Strettell] of the same.
Thom's Simcocks of the same.
Geffrey (Browne) *Bower* of the same.

Thom's Whetley of Whetley [Whitley.]
John Alleyn of *Over* Whitley.
Hugh Crosby of *Over* Whitley.

[Macclesfield Hundred.]

Hugh Germyne [of Mottram Andrew.]
Peter Ward *of Somerford.*
Christopher Beron [of Bache.]
Lenard Mottram in Andrew.
Thom's Pygott of Berysall [Beristall.]
Robt. Alcock of (Tommalsee) Hough [in Bollin Fee.]
Thom's Grasby [Grastie] of Warford.[15]
Hugh Snelson of Shelford.
John Lowe of Shelford.
Thom's Teddering[ton] of Tedderington [Titherington.]
Henry Barlow of Motram Andrew.
Thom's (Grayg) Srayg [Glegge] of Withington.
John Robinson of Stopfort [Stockport.]
Hugh Ward of Eaton.
John Burges of the same.
Edward Lown[d]es of the same.
Mathew Whitton of the same.
Urian Okes of the same.
John Okes of the same.
Mathew Okes of the same.
Richard Burges of Bodinfee [Bollin Fee.]
Henry Ryle of Northen[den.]
John Heugham of Heugham.
John Swinton of Alderley.
Randle Janny of Styall.
Wm. Shelmardyne of Northen[den.]
Edward Okes (of Som'ford) of Michbrooke.
Sidesbury of Mottram.
ffrancis Hobson of Aldrley.
Thom's Chester.
William Burgeny de Pulford.

This is a trew copie of thos[e] that [were] disclaymed at Sr Rich. St. George Norroy Kinge of Armes Visetation for the county of Chester 1613

[15] "Respite given for proofe of armes but no proofe made" at the Visitation of 1664 (Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 641).

and taken by me Randle Holme of Chester deputy to the sayd Norroy when the[y] had byne p'claymed at Chester high Crosse after sound of a Trumpett by a bayley [bailiff] of the county of Chester.

[Cheshire, 1664.]

[A printed proclamation, with parts filled in with the pen.—Harl. MS. 2142, fo. 164.]

To the high Shireeke of the County Palatine of Chester.[16]

Large official seal of William Dugdale, Esq., as Norroy King of Arms.

WHEREAS the King's most Excellent Majesty, being desirous that the Nobility of this his Realm should be preserved in each degree, as well in Honour as in Worship: and that every person and persons, Bodies politick corporate and others should be known in their states & mysteries without confusion and disorder, hath authorised me *William Dugdale* Esq: *Norroy* King of Armes of the North East and West-parts of this Realm of England, not only to visit all the said province, and to peruse, take knowledge and view of all manner of Armes, Cognizances, Crests, and other like Devices, with the notes of the Descents, Pedegrees, and Marriages of all the Gentry therein contained: but also to reprove, controul, and make infamous by Proclamation all such as unlawfully, and without just Authority, Vocation, or due calling, do or have done, or shall usurp, or take upon him or them any Name or Title, of Honour or Dignity, as Esquire, Gentleman, or other: forbidding also and straitly commanding all his Shireves, Commissioners, Archdeacons, Officialls, Scriveners, Clerks, Writers, or other whatsoever they be, to call, name, or write in any Assize, Sessions, Court, or other open place or places, or to use in any writing the addition of Esquire or Gentle-

16 The words in the proclamation which are printed in this type have been filled in by hand.

man, to any person or persons within this my Province abovementioned, unless they be able to stand unto and justify the same by the Law of Armes, of this his Realm, or else be ascertained thereof by advertisement in writing from me the said *Norroy* King of Armes, my Deputy, or Deputyes, Attorney or Attorneys in that behalf, as by his said Majesties Commission under the great Seal of *England* more fully doth appear. Know ye therefore, that I the said *Norroy*, in pursuance and accomplishment of his said Majesties desire, and furtherance of his service herein, having in my late Visitation within this County of Chester by due Summons required the persons whose names are hereunto annexed, to shew unto me by what right they do use and bear any such Armes, Cognizances, and Crests as abovesaid, and take upon them those Titles and Dignities of Esquire or Gentleman: and having received no sufficient proof of such their right thereunto, and my own justification for allowance thereof, according to the trust reposed in me by his said Majesty in that behalf: but that they have presumptuously usurped the same, without any good ground or Authority, contrary to all right, and to the antient and laudable custome of this Realm, and usage of the Law of Armes: do hereby declare, that from henceforth they are not to use those Armes and Titles upon such further pain and peril as by the Earl Marshal of *England*, or his Majesties most Honourable Commissioners for the executing of that Office may be inflicted upon them, whereof I have thought fit (in pursuance of his Majesties further pleasure signified in his said Commission) hereby to advertise you, and all other his Majesties good and Loyal Subjects of this County: that as you and they tender his said Majesties pleasure herein, from henceforth you will forbear, in any writing or otherwise to attribute unto them those additions of Esquire or Gentleman, until the said persons so assuming those Titles, shall stand to and justify the same by the Law of Armes of this his Majesties Realm: or that you be ascertained thereof in writing, by advertisement from me the said *Norroy* King of Armes, or my lawful Deputy or Deputyes, Attorney or

Attorneys, in that behalf. Given at the Office of Armes in the City of London, under my hand, and the Seal of my office the sixth day of July in the sixteenth year of the reign of our

(50 c.) Nº 220. — Lundi 9 août 1926

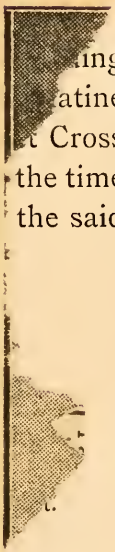
ANNONCES
PUBLICITAS S.A.
Rue Pichard 3 Lausanne
et succursales, et correspondants en Suisse et à l'étranger.

PRIX DES ANNONCES
La ligne ou son espace (corps 7)
Pour le canton . . . . Fr. 0.35
Pour la Suisse et l'étranger . . . . . » 0.50
Avis mortuaires . . . » 0.50
Réclames vaudoises . . » 1.—
» suisses et étrangères . . . . . » 1.25

Le sourire présidentiel

UNE

NNE



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This list should be compared with a list of Cheshire disclaimers of ~~[illegible]~~ gentility dated 3 Sept 1663 and printed in Earwaker, Local Glean. rel. to Lanes. and Ches., i, no. 51, pp. 21-2 which has many additional names.

man, to any person or persons within this my Province above-mentioned, unless they be able to stand unto and justify the same by the Law of Armes, of this his Realm, or else be ascertained

LA TRIBUNE D

circulation monétaire depuis 1920 se maintenait dans des limites absolument *normales*. La réserve de pièces de 5 fr. de la Banque nationale est en sensible diminution, mais il reste encore auprès des caisses de l'Etat d'importantes réserves de monnaie d'argent.

Confédération

Un ouvrier tué par une auto

Moûtier, 8 août.

(Resp.). — La voiture automobile de M. Roche, inspecteur forestier, se rendant à Délémont, a heurté et renversé près de la Verrerie de Choindez, un ouvrier, M. Wirth, père de six enfants. T... de Moutier, M. Wirt... des suites de ses

pait dans de la colle et les rou dans les poils. Par ce procédé avec une taupe une vingtaine qu'il s'empressait de vendre à

La police a arrêté le déve cette nouvelle industrie val

Canton de

Les jeunes Welches d

(at.). — Un m communique ce

Récemme je suis le son ga il ét

an upo and h unto, a to the trus that they good groun and laudab Armes: do use those by the Ear able C infli his hereby Loyal Su said Majest in any writing of Esquire or G those Titles, shall sta Armes of this his Majestic thereof in writing, by advertisem King of Armes, or my lawful Deputy

Attorneys, in that behalf. Given at the Office of Armes in the City of London, under my hand, and the Seal of my office the sixth day of July in the sixteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord CHARLES the Second by the Grace of God of *England Scotland, France & Ireland* King, defendor of the faith &c.

[Signed] Will'm Dugdale,
Norroy K. of Armes.

[Cheshire, 1664.]

[*College of Arms, C. 38.*—Harl. MS. 2142, fo. 165.]

The names of the Particular Persons residing within the several Hundreds of the County Palatine of Chester who were disclaimed at the Market Cross in Chester on Thursday 28 July 1664 being the time of the Public & General Assizes held for the said County.[16a]

The City of Chester.

William Wilson Mr. Oldfield[17] Mr. Hulton	Abbey Court.
James Anderton[18] Henry Young[19] Thomas Robinson John Anderson Daniel Baband Thomas Higgenson	North Gate Street.
John Bret Thomas Hand	Watergate Street.
Richard Harrison[20]	White Fryer Lane.

17 Mr. Oldfeild in Harl. MS.
18 John Anderson in Harl. MS.
19 This name does not occur in C. 38, and is erased in Harl. MS.
20 Erased in Harl. MS.

This list should be compared with a list of Cheshire disclaimers of ~~nobility~~ gentility dated 3 Sept 1663 and printed in Earwaker, Local Glean. rel. to Lanes. and Ches., i, no. 51, pp. 21-2 which has many additional names.

Jonathan Crosse Thomas Parnell[21] Richard Brett[22] John Cows[23] Richard Hitchcock	East Gate Street.
William Heyward Mr. Rok[24]	Fleshmongers Lane.
William Drinkwater James Gartsoide[26] Richard Wright[26] John Knowles Peter Edwards Henry Lloyd[26] Thomas Singleton[27] William Harvey[26] William Hewett[28]	High part of Bridge Street.[25]
Robert Morey[29] Hugh Harvey Robert Gregg[30] Richard Bridge Mr. Slatour John Ridge	Lower end of Bridge Street.
Thomas Acton[31]	Castle Lane.
Hugh Mouson[32] Richard Heath John Madock[34] Thomas Wilcock Randle Oulton[34]	forgate Streete.[33]

Richard Williamson, a Proctor.

21 Erased in Harl. MS.

22 Richard Bret in Harl. MS.

23 John Cowes in Harl. MS.

24 This name does not occur n C. 38, and is erased in Harl. MS.

25 Higher end of Bridge street in Harl. MS., and the names filled in in a later hand.

26 This name does not occur n Harl. MS.

27 Tho: Shingleton in Harl. MS.

28 Will'm. Huett in Harl. MS.

29 Robert Morrey in Harl. MS.

0 Robert Greg Senr. in Harl. MS.

1 This name does not occur in C. 38, and is erased in Harl. MS.

32 Hugh Mowson in Harl. MS.

33 The name of the street does not occur in C. 38.

3 Erased in Harl. MS.

The County of Chester.

Northwich Hundred.

John Statham	of Brereton.
Thomas Higinbotham	Buglawton.
Huon Mynshull	Clyve.
John Hobson	Congleton.
Alderman Poynton[35]	
Mr. .....[36]	
Richard Parnell	
William Spenser[37]	
Robert Knight	
John Walker	
John Lathom	
John Henshaw	
Thomas Parnell	
Mr. Justice Ford	
Thomas Bagnall	Cranage.
John Leadbeater	
Robert Lowe	Eaton.
Jonathan Eaton	Goosetree cum Barnshaw.[38]
William Moreton	Hulme Walfield.
Richard Fimlowe	
John Amson	Leigh.
William Yates	Middlewich.
John Amson	
Gabraell Hodgson	Minshul Vernon.
Thomas Deane	Nether Pever.
Edmund Stockley	Newhall.
Thomas Robinson	Northwich.
Thomas Hulford	
John Brome[39]	
Raphe Poole[40]	Odd Rode.
William Raven	Sandbach.
John Mosse	
John Stonyer	
Hugh Walley[41]	

35 Alderman Pointon in Harl. MS.
36 A name erased and illegible in Harl. MS.
37 William Spencer in Harl. MS.
38 Barnshaw only in Harl. MS.
39 John Broome in Harl. MS.
40 Mr. Ralphe Poole in Harl. MS.
41 Mr. Hugh Walley in Harl. MS.

Thomas Walley	Shipbrook.[42]
Raphe Walley[43]	Stanthorne.
Richard Deane	Shurlach.
Richard Brooke	Smallwood.
Robert Kinsen	Tetton.
Henry Wigley, Raphe Hassall, John Smith	Warmicham.
John Parkinton[44]	Witton.

Nampwich Hundred.

Hugh Kent[45], John Lawton[46]	Alsager.
John Brayne[47]	Aston juxta Mondrum.
Cholmley Salmon, Arthur Cartwright[48], John Sparrowe, Gabraell Smith	Audlem.
John Bromhall	Baddiley.
Richard Sherwyn[49]	Bridgmeire.
Robert Griffiths	Bromhall.

[*In a later hand, in C. 38:*—] N.B. The pedigree of this R G. entered with arms by Dugd[ale] the day after this disclaimer. See the original Visitation, fo. 123.

Henry Hayes, John Shenton, Richard Walley	Burland.
Charles Ince, Richard Lovet, John Smith	Checkley.
Thomas Ursgate[50]	Cholmston.
Thomas Caldcote	Chorley.
Hugh Wade	Church Minshull.

42 Shipbroke in Harl. MS.
43 This name does not occur in Harl. MS.
44 John Packington in Harl. MS.
45 Mr. Hugh Kent in Harl. MS.
46 Mr. John Lawton in Harl. MS.
47 Mr. John Braine in Harl. MS., and juxta Mondrum is omitted.
48 This name does not occur in C. 38.
49 Richard Sherwin in Harl. MS.
50 Thomas Ursgrate, Cholmondiston, in Harl. MS.

Thomas Smith[51]	
Mathew Meakin	Crewe.
John Parrot[52]	
Mathew Wright	
Thomas Knight	
William Wofe	Hankilow.
Hugh Boulton	
John Bouth	
John Wilson	Heald.
William Parrat	Hough.
Alexander Denton	Leighton.
George Edgley	Marbury.
William Meakin[53]	
Thomas Bromhall	
Roger Cumberbache	
George Henshaw	
Thomas Langley	Namptwich.
John Wicksted	
Thomas Wright	
Randle Church	
Thomas Bullen	
Cholmley Salveyn	
Mr. Browne	
Gabraell Hocton[54]	New Hall.
Robert Hassall	
William Cudworth	
John Lawson[55]	
William Abnet	Pooles.
William Moulton	
Laurence Fletcher	Rope.
William Baskerville	Sound.
Raphe Adsheard	Wibenbury.
Arthur Bickerton	Wilkesley.
Raphe Bostock	Willaston.
Raphe Brescie	
Robert Parker[56]	
William Boote[57]	Winstanton.[58]
Richard Wright	

[51] Mr. Thomas Smith in Harl. MS.
[52] Mr. John Parrat in Harl. MS.
[53] Mr. William Meakin in Harl. MS.
[54] Gabr: Hockton in Harl. MS.
[55] Mr. John Lawton in Harl. MS.
[56] Mr. Robert Parker in Harl. MS.
[57] Mr. William Boote in Harl. MS.
[58] Wistanston in Harl. MS.

Mr. Broadbent Richard Prichard Edward Windsor Randle Grafton	Worleston.
Thomas Wicksted George Tushingham Raphe Tushingham Jonathan Bradeley	Worswall.
Thomas Harrower	Wrenbury.

Broxton Hundred.

Mr. Edward Astley	Golborne Bello.
John Booker	Bickerton.
Richard Brookes	Boughton.
Mr. Kettle	Burwardsley.
Edward Bawyn[59]	Cristilton.
Daniel Greatbache	Eccleston.
Thomas Wilcox	Huntington.
Mr. Blunketts	Malpas.
Raphe Wilbraham	Marlton cum Lache.
William Smith	Rowton.
Francis Wright	Stretton.
Mr. Bird[60]	Brocton.
Mr. Acton[61]	Gloverton.

Bucklow Hundred.

Edward Gregg[62]	Appleton.
Henry Vawdrey	Bagguley.
Millington Coulthurst	Marthall cum Wharton
Thomas Warburton	Partington.
Richard Warburton	Warburton.
Mr. Sam: Vawdrey[63]	Hale.

Wyrhall Hundred.

Thomas Glassover	Lea.
Mr. Cottingham Mr. Upton	Little Neston.

59 Edw. Bavyn in Harl. MS.
60 This name does not occur in C. 38, and is erased in Harl. MS.
61 This name does not occur in C. 38.
62 Mr. Edw. Gregg in Harl. MS.
63 This name does not occur in C. 38.

Edward Litterland	Poulton cum Seacrum.
Mr. Hocknell	Shotwick.
William Shipley	Stowerton.
Capt: Shipley[64]	Thortonhough.
Mr. Frogg	Whitby.

Eddisbury Hundred.

Thomas Savage John Philips	Barrow.
Thomas Porter	Bunbury.
George Lowe William Row	Hartford.
Richard Rutter[65]	Kingsley.
Richard Wilcoxon Peter Hall	Manley.
Raphe Vernon Raphe Ratcliffe	Over.
Henry Young Thomas Richardson	Rushton.

Maxfield Hundred.

Mr. Samuel Eaton	Bredbury.
John Birtles	Birtles.
Robert Sidibotham Reginald Kelsall[66]	Cheadle parish.
Randle Wardle	Eaton.
William Newton	Fulshall.[67]
Thomas Jackson	Hurdefield.
Thomas Deane William Watson Richard Mottershead Antony Bouth[68]	Maxfield.
Francis Hobson Thomas Hobson	Over Alderley.
Thomas Wright[69]	Offerton.
William Alcock William Wyrhall	Pownall Fee.
John Lowe, of Horden	Ranow.

64 This name does not occur in C. 38.
65 Erased in Harl. MS.
66 Mr. Reginald Kelsall in Harl. MS.
67 ffullshaw in Harl. MS.
68 Anthony Boothe in Harl. MS.
69 Mr. Thomas Wright in Harl. MS.

Edward Barret	Siddington.
Edmund Barwick	Sithington.
Nicholas Walker	Stelrey[70]
Henry Harpur[71]	Stockport.
George Newton	
Thomas Dickenson	
Alexander Robinson	
Robert Steele	
John Bancroft	Sutton.
Peter Worth	Tiderington.
Edward Brabourne	
William Worrall	Wimslow.

[70] Stelvey in Harl. MS.
[71] This name does not occur in C. 38.

NOTES ON THE SCULPTURES OF THE ROMAN MONUMENTS RECENTLY FOUND IN CHESTER.

By Edward W. Cox.

Read 5th February, 1891.

GREAT attention has been bestowed on the epigraphic records disclosed by the numerous monumental stones discovered during some years' researches in the ancient walls of Chester; and the labours of Mr. F. Haverfield, Mr. Benson, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, Mr. Thompson Watkin and others have served to throw many new lights upon that period of Roman occupation on which history is nearly silent. The examination of the sculptures and evidences of construction found in these remains have been touched on much more superficially, though in some respects they convey information fully equal in value to the inscriptions, and their study is infinitely wider in its scope. A very brief reference to some of the lines of enquiry that lie open in this direction is all that can be attempted in these notes, which are only intended to point out how much still requires to be done before we can be said to have learnt all that these discoveries teach.

In the first place, almost the whole of the "finds" are portions of tombs, many of them architectural in character, and some of large proportions. Only a few of these remains can be assigned to some temple or public building. Roman tombs were frequently erections of architectural importance, having temple-like façades, and were sometimes enclosed in small courts. Many copings found surmounted such courtyards, or peribolus walls, and are more or less ornamented with masks, pedestals for urns, cable and other mouldings, though for the most part they are plain rounded copings. Fragments of entablatures are numerous and varied, some of them with richly carved friezes. Capitals, shafts of pilasters, and small columns also were found. One monument was of circular form, with stages, reduced towards the top, like a tower, and it probably carried a statue. Of this, many stones were found near together. [Plate A, fig. 2, shows the pediment of a large and important tomb.] These monuments stood usually by the roadsides outside the cities, and the larger ones sometimes had seats in the courts and rooms for the accommodation of relatives visiting the family tomb.

The fact that the remains of these structures, making up more or less complete buildings, in many cases lay much together in the city wall, and that the materials of distinct tombs did not apparently lie widely distributed, seems to indicate that their original site was somewhere very close to the wall into which they had been afterwards built. All classes of monuments were represented, from the simplest to the most ornate. Some of the largest slabs, with fine and carefully-cut inscriptions, were wholly unornamented, while the stones showing sculptures have the inscriptions very carelessly done,

G. 1.

FIG. 2.

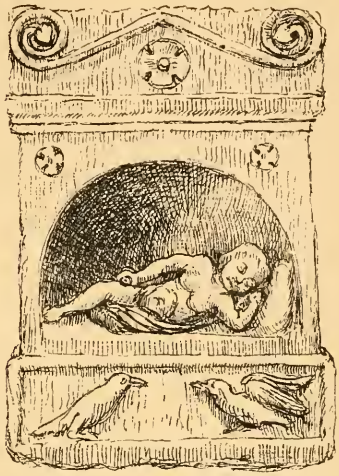


FIG. 4.

IG. 3.

ROMAN MONUMENTAL STONES, FOUND AT CHESTER.

so rudely indeed as to suggest that the workmen were illiterate. The plainness of the larger slabs may be accounted for by their having formed parts of large structures, in which ornament had been applied to the architectural features only, while in the minor tombs both ornament and epitaph were cut on a single stone.

There was a manifest sequence in the finds: not only were many fragments of each structure near each other, but the stones were found in sets, possibly showing that there had been some classified arrangement in the interments. For instance, most of the stones first discovered belonged to tombs of infantry soldiers of the 20th legion, and among them was a tablet to the prefect of the camp. Nearly at the same time and place, several monuments to females were found; but among the early "finds" there was no tablet to any of the equites or cavalry. Afterwards, however, several of these were discovered within a short time of each other. Still later, a tablet to a soldier of the 2nd auxiliary legion was found, and, owing to the rarity of such memorials, excited much interest. Soon afterwards five other inscriptions were found, commemorating men of the same legion. Nearly all of these showed round-headed panels for the inscription, and little ornament. The forms of the tablets of the 20th legion were varieties of pedimented or square-headed stones.

These peculiarities—together with distinct signs of decadence in art, noticeable in the style of the sculptures, and that some of the stones were much worn, whilst others were quite fresh—seem to show that these monuments had been erected not only according to some classified plan, or in some sequence, but that, in point of date, they extend over a considerable portion of the Roman occupation.

A very long and hot debate has been carried on regarding the age of the wall into which these stones were built as masonry, and whether the Romans themselves so used them, and at what date. This will not be discussed in the present paper, except as regards the evidence of a single stone. The date of most of the stones is conjectural, few of the inscriptions found furnishing any positive clue to it. The stone above mentioned is a large heavy slab, with a round-headed tablet, inscribed GIVVENTIVS CCLA CAPITO, who is supposed to have been a man of the 2nd auxiliary legion. This legion was in Britain during the reign of Hadrian, and appears to have garrisoned Chester while the 20th was absent during the building of Hadrian's great north wall. This stone bears evidence in itself of having been used by the Romans as a walling stone. It has at each end sockets for wood dowels, cut for the purpose of securing the stone in a wall built without mortar, which have been made subsequent to the carving of the stone, for they partly cut into the inscription. In the next place, we learn from the condition of this stone that it must have been used as a walling stone very late on in the Roman occupation, and near the time of the withdrawal from Britain. The top and both edges of the stone are greatly weathered and channeled, results which could hardly have been produced in less than a century of exposure. This weathering certainly did not take place while the stone was built into a wall, but while it was standing detached from any building; otherwise it would not be weathered on three sides as it is. The dowel holes have been cut in it subsequently to the weathering. Construction of this kind is usual with Roman masonry when set dry; this stone, therefore, was made to serve for some late Roman building. The building

in which it was thus used was assuredly not any part of the wall now standing, which I know is by many considered to be Roman work, and standing *in situ*. Were this the case, the doweled stones, of which large numbers were found, would lie with their dowel holes in juxtaposition. This, however, was not so; the stones of the wall—whether carefully laid, as some were, or roughly tumbled in, as the greater part appear to have been —did not retain their original setting; the dowel holes, and the lewis holes for hoisting, did not correspond to one another as they should have done, had they been *in situ*, but were separated and placed in all directions. The wear acquired by the single stone referred to above, during the short period which elapsed between its being set up as a monument in the reign of Hadrian and the time at which it was re-used by the Romans who cut the dowel holes, proves the impossibility of any stone of this class remaining sound during an exposure of 1500 years, if exposed. Whatever the date of the interior of the north wall of Chester may be, its exterior was unquestionably refaced at a very recent period, some of the stones used still showing the tool marks. Hence from this one stone we gather a fund of information about Roman Deva, far beyond the simple record of its inscription. If equal care had been taken to mark all the minor particulars of the excavations, and had free access been given to them during their progress, fewer disputes would have occurred.

Turning to the consideration of the sculptures themselves, one is struck by the large proportion of these that bear more than one inscription, and that consist of two or more figures, which latter class was particularly numerous among the earlier finds. One stone bears two figures, and the hands of

a third that stood behind them remain on the shoulders of each. Some, which bear two figures, have the inscription to one person only, this being the case with the large fine stone, in excellent condition, erected to M. Aurelius Nepos by his wife, where a space left for the name of the latter has never been filled up. Two figures, and one epitaph, and a blank panel occur in the memorial to Domitia Saturnina. On the other hand, some stones are inscribed to two or more persons, and the appearance of the lettering indicates that they were commemorated together and had died at the same time. One tombstone bears inscriptions to four slaves or servants. Those to Voconoe and Nigrania [Plate C, fig. 8], and to two children, seven and three years of age [Plate A, fig. 3] are of this character. It is difficult to account for these joint memorials, especially as they are less frequent in the case of soldiers, who might have died in battle, than in that of women, children, and slaves. It is possible that they mark either times of pestilence, or of persecution: Plate C, fig. 8, may show signs of the latter, for it does not contain the usual heathen dedication to the Gods the Shades, and shows one of the figures laying on an altar, as an offering, the circle symbolising the round or wheel of life, while from the altar issue three flames; near to the two names are the letters CTOR, which may read "Victor"; so that this monument may possibly have been set up in memory of Christians. But, so far, no undoubted trace of a Christian monument or inscription has yet been found among these relics. One tombstone, consisting of a large slab with a separate pediment, was found fully finished, but without any trace of inscription on the tablet, and it had never contained one. This would indicate a not uncommon practice among the

FIG. 5.

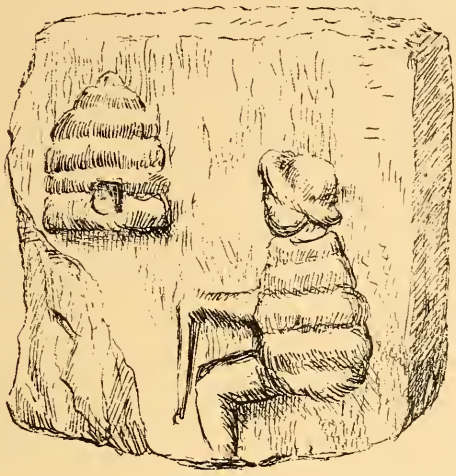
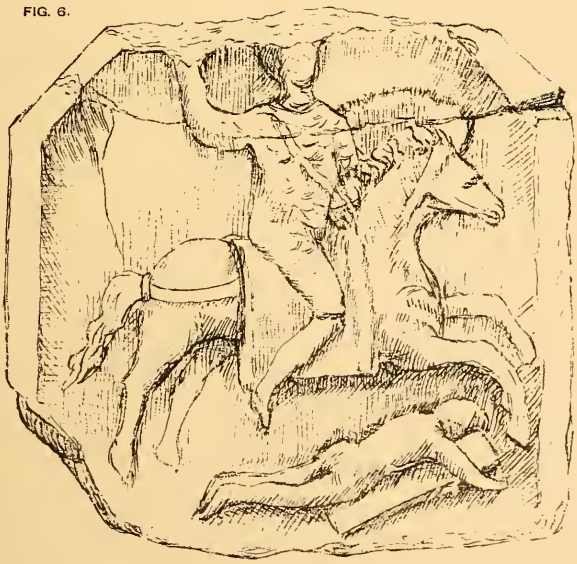


FIG. 6.



ROMAN MONUMENTAL STONES, FOUND AT CHESTER.

Romans of preparing a tomb during life; but in this case, either by withdrawal of the legion from Deva, or the removal of the maker of the monument before his death, the tomb remained empty and uninscribed. There is a possible explanation of the blank and unfilled spaces for the second inscription on some stones: it may be that the Roman occupation had ended before the death of the person for whom the panel was intended.

There are many instructive points to be gathered from a study of the great variety in artistic merit and design which these sculptures present. They range from fine and delicately-wrought bassi relievi, equal to some of the Greek Stelæ in refinement and grace (such as that to a cavalry soldier, who is depicted driving before him a crouching Briton, and whose portrait bust occupies a small niche at the top of the stone) down to the wholly debased and puerile execution of the figure of M. Aurelius Nepos, in which every trace of classical design and all knowledge of the correct delineation of the human figure are lost. The impression one forms is that these sculptures were produced during a long period of time, and that the later ones—which show clear evidences of the decadence of art-workmanship and design—were wrought during the closing years of the Roman occupation. Another proof of this is that some of the stones are greatly weathered, while others show the tool-marks as freshly as if cut a year ago, among the latter being that to A. Nepos. In many of the intermediate examples the severe classical types are somewhat relaxed; a good instance of this less conventional treatment being the dancing figure [Plate A, fig. 1], where the movement of the drapery is admirably rendered. This figure also illustrates another characteristic of the sculptures, namely, the sketchy and clever

way in which the artist has produced his required effects with a few apparently coarse and rough lines, indicating the light and shade effect of sculptured work, without any elaboration. Further, it seems probable that in many cases the faces were carved by another hand than the rest of the tablets, in many of which there appear to be distinct attempts at portraiture, or, at all events, more care has been bestowed on the faces. In Plate A, fig. 3, the faces of the two children are well carved, and their individuality and difference in age admirably rendered; while the bodies, represented by half a dozen rough scorings, are mere sketches. Indications of this rudeness of finish are not due to weather or damage done to the stone, as might at first be supposed. On the above-mentioned tablet to a horse soldier, two lions' heads are shown flanking the bust, which are of rough and grotesque work, the rest being excellent in design and carefully wrought. The same sketchy execution which marks many of the Chester stones is also to be found in some of the Roman relics in the London Guildhall Museum.

While the inscriptions give us the names, nationality, and some scanty details of the rank and occupation of those they commemorate, the sculptures add to the tale many details of costume, arms, customs, amusements, and mythology of the Roman garrison. Among the figures of Equites we have at least three types of helmets and armour. In Plate B, fig. 6, the figure of the rider is armed with a mascled, or scaled, lorica, or coat of mail, almost identical with those Norman suits shown in the Bayeux tapestry, which terminate in short breeches continuous with the hauberk. The monument to Aurelius Lucius gives us a helmet with cheek pieces and a crest, and the short Roman

FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

ROMAN MONUMENTAL STONES, FOUND AT CHESTER.

sword. Another tablet—to a horse soldier, armed with a spear—shows a conical pointed helmet. A more classically-finished relief gives a close-fitting suit of armour, a round uncrested helmet, and spear. The Roman horsemen carry oval shields; the British foes, who are in three or four places shown trampled under the feet of their conquerors' horses, bear large oblong shields, and are shown fighting naked, as Cæsar tells us they did. The figure of the legionary foot soldier shown in Plate A, fig. 4, is defended from the rigours of the British climate by a fur cloak, and in the monument to the standard-bearer Diogenes, he and some of his companions wear similar cloaks. Among the amusements indicated, we may refer to the figure of a dancer, Plate A, fig. 1. Another stone gives us the figures of Hermagoras and Felix, brothers, one of whom plays the bagpipes, while the small fragment of the other figure seems to be in the attitude of dancing. The two children, Restita and her sister Martina, play with their pet rabbits. Several fragments of figures of nude athletes exist among the remains, which seem to represent either games of speed and strength or gladiatorial shows, but they are too much mutilated and detached from their structures to say this with certainty.

The mythical and symbolic character of many of these memorials is the last feature to which I can refer in this short paper. Indications of this nature are numerous and varied; among them there are, however, no representations of or references to the deities of the Pagan religion. The only examples of classical legend on tombs are one representing Perseus and Andromeda, and another which may show Heracles slaying the Nemæan lion. Evidences of the existence of Christian belief are alike absent or are very obscure. As a possible

instance of the latter, Plate C, fig. 8, has been already referred to. There are, however, two stones, apparently Metopes from a large building, on one of which is cut a stag; on another, Actæon, with stag's horns, devoured by his dogs. These are not monumental stones, but probably formed part of a temple to Diana, the proportions of which (if it was built in accordance with one of the regular orders) might be recovered by the measurement of these stones.

Of the usually accepted symbols of death, as represented in classical times, many examples are found in these sculptures. The commonest of these among the Chester relics is that showing the shade of the departed resting on a couch, and drinking from a cup, while beside the couch stands a tripod for the funeral offerings. The Pagan idea was that the shades of the dead became as Gods, and entered Elysium, where they rested and feasted. The inscription, therefore, of "Dis" or "Diis Manibus," "To the Gods the Shades," appearing on nearly every Roman tomb, was not a dedication to the Gods of the Roman mythology, but to the Souls or Shades of the dead as Minor Gods, a survival possibly of the cult of ancestor worship. Sculptures of this class are so numerous among the Chester stones that they need not be enumerated. The couch and tripod are shown on Plate A, fig. 3; and the couch alone, together with another type of Death, on Plate A, fig. 2; the other being that of Death as a child—quiet, restful, innocent: often so depicted in Greek art. In many of the monuments this type is found with that of the couch, the cup, and the garlands of Elysium, and in more than one, Death, as a child, is shown giving the cup. Another frequent type is a bird, to represent the fleeting and passing nature of life. In some monuments a bird

sits overhead, in the garlands; in others a figure carries a bird in its hand. In Plate A, fig. 2, this symbol is added to those of the couch and the sleeping child. One bird remains with closed wings: the second strikes out its wings for flight. On another stone, a sheaf of corn, cut down and drooping, is carried by one figure, while another carries a bird. These symbols of the gentler kind are mostly of Greek origin.

The Etruscan symbols, indicating death rather as a thing of gloom and horror, are likewise represented in the Chester stones. Of this class, Plate C, fig. 7, furnishes a fine example, where not only the Gorgon's head, but also the fascia of the cornice, seem to be ornamented with snakes. Another tombstone is carved with a grotesque and wry-mouthed face: an idea derived from the Etruscans. The horse, or horse's head, another Etruscan symbol, does not appear, but we have the genius of Death extinguishing a torch. In the stone to Aurelius Lucius, referred to above, is a detached face, which has been supposed to represent an actor's mask, but which I take to represent the face of Death. A less usual type, but one which occurs several times in this series, is a kind of cloak or pall descending upon the figure of the deceased, with the skeleton head of a ram or ox in its centre, shown in Plate A, fig. 3. A variation in the bird type occurs in the figure of a harpy, this being a Greek idea; one office of the harpies being to convey the souls of the departed to the shades. Again, a type of the passing or rolling away of life was a wheel or circle. In Plate C, fig. 8, one of the figures places the circle as an offering on the altar; and among the ornaments found on numerous stones, the wheel, circle and wreath predominate.

The few illustrations given have been selected with a view to showing as many as possible of the details to which allusion has been made in the text. Other stones have been lately discovered at Chester of higher artistic merit and greater historical value, but not, perhaps, the writer thinks, so well adapted to illustrate the points he has endeavoured to bring out in these hastily compiled and fragmentary notes.

COURT ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF LITTLE CROSBY, A.D. 1628 AND 1634.

By Augustine Watts, M.A.

Read 22nd January, 1891.

INTRODUCTION.

COURTS Leet and Courts Baron are not so seldom confounded nowadays as to render superfluous any account of the distinctions between them. They differ in their objects, jurisdiction, and procedure. And first as to Courts Leet.

In the beginning, the Crown was the sole fountain of justice, and where the king was, there was law administered. But increase of population led to a division of labour, and courts leet were ordained to deal with crimes and public nuisances within their several precincts. A court leet was otherwise called View of Frankpledge, for that at one of its sittings in the year the king was thereby informed by the view of the seneschal or steward of the number of people in each leet, as also of their good government and manners. An oath of fealty and allegiance to the king was there exacted of every person of twelve years of age who had for a year and day lived within the leet. The king's peace and obedience were the two things courts leet had to maintain and secure. The courts were opened with a triple "Oyez" or proclamation, for they were courts of the king, notwithstanding a subject

might claim to hold them by ancient grant or prescription. The enquest or jury were at least twelve in number, and they were sworn, among other things, "to keep the king's counsel" (the court being the king's), and the suit to a court leet was called *suit roial* or suit real for the same reason, and was founded in residence merely, and not in tenure. In a court leet the seneschal, and not the suitors, was the judge. He was a judge of record, and could commit to gaol for felony, and fine for contempt. A leet was a court of record, and appeal therefrom was by writ of error. A steward of a leet could compel the bailiff to impanel an enquest to enquire for the king, and punish a first refusal by a fine of £40, and a second or other refusal by a fine of £50 or more, and so he could fine the enquest for any dereliction of duty. The amount of the fines he fixed himself, without the aid of affeerers, who—two in number—fixed or affeered other amercements. His fines were not traversable, and were therefore called *fines*, because there was an end of the matter.

All felonies and offences indictable at common law as being "against the peace of our Lord the "King, his crown and dignity," might be enquired of and presented in the leet, but not punished there. Any presentment of such had to be written out in an indenture, and one part thereof kept by the seneschal and the other by the jury, until delivered to the justices of assize at the next gaol delivery within the county.

It would take too long to give a list of defaults and offences which were not only enquirable and presentable, but were also punishable, in the leet. Among them, however, may be mentioned defaults of appearance on the part of residents and *deciners* [judges of ten] on the one hand, and of the capital pledges which had to be found for the good conduct

of everyone who came within the district on the other. It was matter of presentment, also, if any of the age of twelve years, and resident for a year and day, had not taken the oath of allegiance. Runaway villeins who had not gone quit or without claim in the realm for a year and day were subjects of enquiry. If any customs or services due to the court were withdrawn, it was proper to consider how this had come about and who was to blame for it, and in what bailiff's time the loss had occurred.

To pass to larger matters—encroachments on land, wood and water, blocks raised or moved, ditches dug or filled so as to cause a public nuisance, came within the purview of the leet; as also the erection of any wall, house, fence or hedge, to the hurt of the people. The diversion of public roads, footpaths, streams or ditches, might claim its attention, and so might any alteration of public boundaries; and, above all, damage or obstruction or encroachment of and on the king's highway.

For offences, any breach of the public peace came rightly within the scope of court leet jurisdiction. The names of common barretors, as scolds and brawlers, were there presented; for such were a nuisance and disturbance to all their neighbours.

Breach of the common pound, or rescue of any person from the custody of the sheriff or his bailiffs or a king's officer, was matter for the leet. No enquest, furthermore, would do its duty which failed to present the names of eavesdroppers who lurk under walls or windows by night or day to hear tales and bear them to others, and so make strife and debate among their neighbours. Among evil members of the commonwealth, the leet visited with its restraints those who kept disorderly houses, as also vagabonds or hazarders, and those who walk

by night and sleep in the day. Common haunters of taverns and alehouses and loafers without visible means of subsistence had their demerits sifted by the jury of the leet.

Another class of offences was also investigated, and may be mentioned as of interest to a shop-keeping community. False weights or measures or scales brought the cheating owner under the rod of the leet, and especially if he used "double pounds" in his business (the smaller to sell by, and the larger to buy with), to the deceit of the people. The sale of unwholesome victuals of any sort was cognisable in leet, as was also the exaction of an unreasonable price for good victuals—having regard, in the case of bread and ale, to the current price of grain, and in other things to the rates ruling in neighbouring places. It was at one time an offence to wear apparel beyond one's station in life. The statute in such case made was 24 Hen. VIII, c. 13, known as "the Statute of Apparel," and contraventions of this Act were made enquirable in leet by express words; otherwise the leet could not have dealt with them, as being offences unknown to the common law.

Other statutory offences made expressly enquirable in leet were, unions of dealers to fix the price of victuals (2 Ed. VI, c. 15) or unions of artisans and labourers to fix wages or hours of labour (24 Hen. VIII, c. 12), and illegal games (33 Hen. VIII, c. 9).

Enough has been said to give a general idea of the scope of courts leet, and to lend good colour to the view which connects the word "leet" with "let," in the sense of hindrance.

A court leet was incident to a Hundred, and passed with it as parcel thereof, and severance was impossible. It could, by *Magna Charta*, be held only twice in the year, and that within the months of

Michaelmas and Easter respectively. A presentment in leet made four days after the month, was void, as appears from Year Books 6 Hen. VII, fo. 1, and 38 Hen. VI and VII, Michaelmas Term. But the lord of a hundred might prescribe to hold a leet on a day certain, not within the months indicated. And such prescription was no infringement of the rule of law that no man may prescribe against a statute; for though *Magna Charta* was called "the statute" *par excellence*, it was in fact only common law. And where a day certain, out of the regular periods, was prescribed for a court leet in any hundred, a leet held in such hundred at any other time was void. (Y.B., 33 Hen. VI, fo. 7.) As to the place for holding the court, that might be anywhere within the hundred, at the pleasure of the lord; for a court of the king could be constituted wherever the king was, and he was, potentially or constructively, everywhere in the realm.

The tenants in court leet could make by-laws, which, if for the commonwealth, were binding on all who came into the hundred, and otherwise only those who assented to them. The assent of a majority of a township was the assent of the township. But they could not make by-laws to alter inheritances.

Among the officers of the leet, annually elected, were the reeve or bailiff, the greve or heyward or beadle, the affeerers, the ale-taster, and the constable.

When a court leet was kept by the sheriff, and he had to do so twice a year in each hundred, it was called the Sheriff's Tourn, which latter word means only that it was the sheriff's turn to hold a leet. It embraced more territory, but otherwise differed not from an ordinary court leet.

To come now to *Courts Baron*. These were ordained to determine injuries, trespasses, debts,

and other actions, wherein the debt or damages were under forty shillings; and they also owed their origin to the practice of sub-infeudation which prevailed before the statute *Quia emptores terrarum* (West. 3), for the feudal system then in vogue made it incumbent on all freeholders of a manor to hold enquiry from time to time, lest their lord, or he of whom they held their lands, should lose any of the services, customs, or dues incident to their mode of tenure. They were bound to make suit and show obedience to their lord, and take care that nothing was done within the manor which was a nuisance or hurtful to his inheritance. All this made a court necessary, and such a court was a Court Baron. The tenants in fee within the manor were the suitors, and these being freeholders were the judges as well; and as long as there were two free tenants, a court baron could be held to enquire and present on behalf of the lord. Such courts, it need hardly be said, were ancient, as are all manors; for unless they existed before the statute *Quia emptores*, no length of time subsequent would win them any legal recognition. The court baron was parcel of its manor and inseparable from it. The free suitors sworn to present in court baron were called collectively the "homage." The suit of the free tenants was called "suit service," as founded in free tenure of land within the manor. If there were no free tenants in the manor, but copyholders only, then the seneschal was judge; otherwise, as has been said, the homage and not the steward were judges.

Appeal from them was by writ of false judgment. The steward was their registrar; but "as ignorant "persons should not meddle in matters touching "the law," he had the duty, as one learned in the law, of keeping the homage right in such points. After entering on his roll the style of the court, it was the seneschal's part to make "oyez" or pro-

clamation once. And then the suitors were called over and entered. After that came another "oyez," and the essoins or absences for good cause were recorded and plaints entered. The homage were then empanelled and sworn, whereupon the steward, if so minded, might make an exhortation to them, setting forth the great reasons why they and all the other tenants were there, as that they were themselves freeholders and all the others copyholders, and therefore owed suit, every one of them, to the court baron of their lord every three weeks, if so often held; or that then and there they might learn the laws, to know what things to ensue and what things to eschew, and so live and enjoy their possessions in peace, and see the country flourish and virtue abound; and to enable them the better to enquire and present as they ought, he had administered to them an oath, which bound them to present the truth and the whole truth, and to judge with good advisement and not in haste, negligently, or for favour, corruption of reward, fear or malice, and so forth.

The charge was the next portion of the steward's task, and this consisted in a short preliminary explanation of the law on matters to come before them. Thus, he might lay stress on their strict duty to enquire if any man who had not unlimited common surcharged the common with more beasts than he ought according to the quantity of his holding. Or, if a man having common appendant only, and not common appurtenant, put on the common animals not commonable: as swine, goats and geese. Or, if anyone dug in the common, except for gravel for the highway (and even then he was bound to fill the hole up afterwards), or committed any other trespass on the common, as by using it without the license of the lord in any other manner than to take his share with the mouths of

the beasts. To dig turf, or build a house on, or make enclosure of, any part of the lord's Waste was, the steward might explain, highly enquirable, and so of other things. He might in conclusion tell them to enquire of all other matters which in their consciences they believed it convenient to do, and to bring in their verdict in writing at such an hour.

Distinct from the court baron, which was a court of common law, was the Customary Court of the copyholders, though usually held at the same time and place.

From the Rolls hereinafter set out, the mode in which the homage brought in their findings sufficiently appears. The style and other portions of the common form of the roll are in Latin in the originals, and the rest in English. Of old it was customary to write out the whole of our court rolls and judicial records in Latin. The same rule prevailed in regard to the formal pleadings in an action, and when, upon a trial, these were opened by the junior counsel or apprentice in law, a translation in English was given to the jury, if any; and it need hardly be said that English was the language in which the senior counsel or serjeant-at-law laid the details of his case before the twelve good men and true, and commended it to their attention. On the Crosby Rolls of 1628 and 1634 no pleas are entered; for the trial of issues between parties in a manorial court had then fallen into desuetude. To take some other points from these rolls as illustrating the foregoing remarks :—

There are four essoins entered on the roll of 1628. An essoin was an absence from court on a failure to proceed, due to lawful cause. Chaucer, in *The Parson's Tale*, uses "essoyne" and "excusacion" as synonymous. After the name of the essoined follows the name of the man who presented the excuse to the court. The circumstances in which

an essoin or a delay of appearance or proceeding was allowed were well settled on the two broad principles, that a man was not to be dragged to court at a sacrifice out of proportion to the matter before the court, and he was not, on the other hand, to be permitted to delay, and often therefore defeat, justice on every limping pretence.

After the list of free suitors comes the "homage," as the men sworn to enquire and judge were called. The number is sixteen, though two would have sufficed in law, as, according to the entry, their inquisition is expressly stated to be "taken for the lord," and two suitors may enquire and present for the lord of a manor, although twelve at least were always required to try an issue between party and party, and the parties could claim a trial by twelve as an indefeasible right, and a portion of the inheritance of every Englishman, by the common law of England.

The amount of each amercement or *misericordia* is small. There was the writ "*Moderata misericordia*" in the register, for a man who was amerced outrageously in court baron—a writ founded on the words of *Magna Charta* that "For a trifling offence "a free man shall not be amerced except in pro- "portion to such offence, and for a great offence "according to the greatness thereof." And by the same statute it was provided that no amercements should be imposed save on the oath of good and lawful men. So that the seneschal could not affire or fix the amercements, but perforce left that duty to the affierors.

After the presentments, and amercements made in respect thereof, the rolls contain a list of bye-laws, with pains or penalties for breach thereof, introduced with the formula—"And it hath been "ordained by the jurors, with the consent of the "seneschal, as follows."

How far a manorial court could go in its bye-laws seems a matter of custom in each place. Thus in some manors a bye-law could be made that anyone who surcharged the common should pay the lord so much, but in such case it was incumbent on the lord, if the lawfulness of the penalty were disputed, to show that his tenants had from time "whereof memory of man goeth not to the con-"trary" been accustomed to make such bye-laws in regard to the common or other land, and the lord's right to distrain for penalties under a bye-law had to be founded in immemorial usage. The enforcement of the bye-laws was the task of the "burleymen," which word seems a corruption of "bye-law men."

In the lists of annual officers, given at the foot of the rolls, there appears one bailiff, four burleymen, four *aspectatores agrorum* or field-wardens, four *taxatores misarum* or affeerers of amercements, two *mosseti* or wardens of the moss, two surveyors of the king's highways and two of the sandy coppes or sandhills, and two *asseratores curiæ* or ushers of the court.

In conclusion it may be added that the Rolls here copied are the property of Col. Nicholas Blundell, of Crosby Hall, and the thanks of the Society are due to him for the loan of them. The substance of the foregoing introductory remarks is taken from "*Le Court Leete et Court Baron, collecte per John "Kitchin, de Graies Inne, un apprentice in ley*" (ed. 1607), a work in Law French, first published in 1581.

APPENDIX A.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE ROLL OF THE COURT BARON OF LITTLE CROSBY, A.D. 1634.

LITTLE CROSBY TO WIT.—The Court Baron of William Blundell Esq. of his Manor of Little Crosby in the County of Lancaster held there in presence of Edward Stockley Steward of the said Court on Tuesday the 21st day of October in the 10th year of the reign of our Lord Charles King of England &c. A.D. 1634.

SUITORS OF THE SAID COURT.—Richard Lord Viscount Mollyneux of Mariburgh Robert Blundell of Inceblundell Esq. John More Esq. Laurence Richardson yeoman Edmund Raphson yeoman Richard Reighnold yeoman.

Appeared:—Robert Morcroft John Barton Edward Rothwell John Longrowe Richard Garthes John Rysse Richard Starky Richard Ainsworth William Arnold Edward Rysse Nicholas Williamson alias Davie James Nicholson alias Davie William Norres Bryan Lea Thomas Poole Thomas Blundell Richard Almond Richard Bryanson Richard Tyrer William Arnold by — Blundell John Bushell Humphrey Griffith William Banes John Pendleton William Smith Thomas Rudgwoth Nicholas Blundell.

Inquisition taken there to enquire for the Lord of the said Manor on the oath of Edward Burghe Lawrence Richardson William Worrall William Stock John Reighnold Henry Williamson Thomas Marrowe Richard Marrowe Peter Rydinge John Mercer Richard Rydinge Thomas Blanchard John Thomasson William Johnson and William Weedall Jurors who say and present on their oath in manner and form as follows in these English words namely:—

	s.	d.
That Robert Blundell Esqe oweing sute and service to this Court hath this day made Defalt in appearance. In mercy - - - - - - - - - - -	1	0

Item that Richard Reynald is right heire to a Close of Land lying within this Mannor called the Mosse-ffield conteyning One Acre and one Rood Land of Land.

Item that Sir Cuthbert Halsall hath alienated and sould his Lande within this Mannor to Robert Blundell Esqe

	s.	d.
Item that John Molyneux Gentleman hath not made his heym[t] betwixt the Graner hoes and the Lordes hoes of this Mannor. In mercy - - - - - -	3	4
Item that Edward Rysse hath teathered his horses contrary to the order of this towne and contrary to the Lordes Information. In mercy - - - - - - -	0	6
Item that John Rysse hath teathered where he hath mowne contrary to the custom of this Mannor. In mercy -	0	3
Item that the said John Rysse hath teathred upon ground whereunto he had no right. In mercy - - -	0	3
Item that John Longroe hath mowed a p'cell of grownd whereunto he had no right. In mercy - - -	0	4
Item that the said John Longroe hath tethered upon the stubble, contrary to Order. In mercy - - -	0	3
Item that Katheren Arnold hath committed wast upon the Moss. In mercy - - - - - - - -	2	0
Item that William Kitchin and Thomas Barnes alias Jackson hath brokened the Pownd or Fold within this Mannor. In mercy each of them 6/8. Total - -	13	4
Item that Nicholas Davie hath neglected to performe half a day work with a cart and half a daie work with a spade in the heigh wayes. In mercy - - -	1	0
Item that Edward Rothwell hath neglected half a day work with a spade in the heighway. In mercy - - -	0	3
Item that Widow Tarlton hath gotten grasse contrary to the Order of this towne. In mercy - - -	0	6
Item that John Rysse hath cowraked and impayred the heigh way. In mercy - - - - - - -	0	6
Item that William Garstange hath made a marle hole in and upon the Bann butt lying in the towne field and not filled up the same according to a former order of this Court. In mercy - - - - - -	3	4
Item that Edward Rysse hath trespassed to William Stocke in plowing some part of the Land of the said William in the town ffield and taken the Proffittes thereof. In mercy - - - - - - - - - -	0	4
Item that Thomas Poole hath ditched wrongfullie between him and William Johnson. In mercy - - -	2	0
Item that William Norres hath not sett a gate at the end of the Ffyve Rood Land according to a former Order of this Court - - - - - - - - -	2	0

Item that John Bushell and Richard Tyrer have suffered their howses to go to decay. Each of them in mercy 6/8; in all - - - - - - - - - - s. 13 d. 4

And it is ordered by the Jurors afores[d] with the consent of the steward in manner and form as follows in these English words namely :—

Imprimis that Richard Bryanson doe amend the breach which he hath made upon Morehowses Greene before Martinmas next under penalty - - - - - s. 3 d. 4

Item that no person or persons inhabiting or dwelling within this mannor or havinge howses of habitation within the same shall take or receive into any there howses any married persons having Chyld or children except they first give sufficient securitie to the use of the towne to save the inhabitants therein harmless from all loss damage hurt and hindrances which may come unto them or any of them by reason of the same taking or receiving under penalty each of them 20 o

Item that Richard Garthes do make his ffence sufficient betwixt him and John Reynould at Marrowes Lane end before the first day of November next under penalty - - - - - - - - - - 6 8

Item that the said Richard Garthes doe make his ffence sufficient betwixt him and Peter Rydinge in the aforesaid Close before the twenty fifth day of March next under penalty - - - - - - - - 6 8

Item that no man that hath any part Land shall sett awaie any gates to any person or persons except that they which have other part Land with them do ffirst refuse to take the same under penalty - - - - - 3 4

Item that Thomas Robertson and Richard Tyrer do well and sufficiently amend their Mosse pitte which they have made at Dobb Lane before Michælmas next under penalty each of them - - - - - - 6 8

And the undermentioned having been elected to office for the year following have been sworn :—

Bailiff—Richard Garthes - - - - - sworn

Burleymen—Hugh farrer William Stocke Thomas Blundell Humphrey Griffith - } sworn

Field Wardens—John Reynold Thomas Marrow John Bushell Bryan Lea - - } sworn

Affeerers—Thomas Marrow Richard Marrow William Weddall John Pendleton - } sworn

Mosswardens—Edward Brough William Johnson - sworn

Surveyors of highways—Edward Rothwell Thomas Poole - - - - - } sworn

Surveyors of the Copps { Richard Rydinge / John Robertson

Ushers of the Court aforesaid { Edward Brough - - - / William Stocke - - - } sworn

Examined by me

Edmund Stockley
Steward of the said Court.

APPENDIX B.

COURT ROLL OF MANOR OF LITTLE CROSBY FOR A.D. 1628.

LITTLE CROSBY TO WIT.—Court of William Blundell Esq. of his manor or lordship of Little Crosby aforesaid held there on the 2nd day of April in the 4th year of the reign of our lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. 1628 before Edward Stockley gent. Steward of the said Court.

SUITORS OF THE SAID COURT.—FREEHOLDERS.

Richard Molyneux Knt. & Bart. essoin by James Davie.
Edward More ess. by John Reighnold.
John Reignold yeoman ess. by John Walley.
Robert Blundell, Esq. Defaulter.
Edward Raphson yeom. ,,
Laurence Richardson. Appeared.
Robert Morecrofte. ,,
Richard Marrowe. ,,

Thomas Marrowe.	Appeared.
John Ryse sen.	,,
John Reignold.	,,
Thomas Rothwell.	,,
John Longrowe.	,,
Richard Garthes.	,,
Ralph Starkey.	,,
Henry Williamson.	,,
Peter Stocke.	,,
Thomas Burghe.	,,
Edward Ryse.	,,
Hugh ffarrer.	,,
Symon Worrall.	Defaulter.
William Norres.	Appeared.
Thomas Blundell.	,,
Peter Ryding.	,,
Thomas Tyrer.	,,
John Walley for Blundell's Howse.	,,
Thomas Blanchard.	,,
Humphrey Griffith.	,,
John Ryse jun.	,,
William Banes.	,,
William Widall.	,,
Richard Ainsworth.	,,
William Arnold.	,,
Nicholas Williamson *alias* Davie essoin by William Widall.	
James Nicholson *alias* Davy.	Appeared.
Joanna Pendleton widow.	,,
Thomas Poole.	,,
Thomas Almond.	,,
William Johnsonne.	,,
Richard Bryanson.	,,
John Roberteson *als.* Thomasson.	,,
John Bushell.	,,
Margery Ley wid. by Bryan Ley son.	,,
Margaret Mercer wid.	,,
Alice Poole wid.	Defaulter.
Henry Banes.	Appeared.

Inquisition taken there to enquire for the lord of the manor or lordship aforesaid on the oath of William Norres Thomas Rothwell Richard Marrow John Ryse sen. Richard Ainsworth Peter Stocke Thomas Burghe Edward Ryse Hugh ffarrer Thomas Blundell William Widall Peter Ryding William Johnson Richard Bryanson John Roberteson *alias* Thomson and John Ryse jun. sworn Who say and present upon their oath in manner and form as follows in these English words namely :—

Imprimis that Robert Blundell, Esq. Edmund Raphson Symon Worrall and Alice Poole wid. Do owe suite and service to this Court and this day have made Defalt. In mercy each of them 12d.; in all - - s. 4 d. 0

Item that Edmund Raphson hath alienated and sould his land in this towne unto Robert Blundell Esq.

Item that Edward Denton hath built three bayes of building upon the Lordes wast. In mercy - - - 6 8

Item that Thomas Robertson hath built one bay of houseing upon the Lordes wast. In mercy - - - 2 6

Item that Margrett Mercer wid. hath built three bayes of howseing one side wheirof standeth on the Lordes waste. In mercy - - - - - - - - 3 4

Item that it appeareth by good proof that the ffarmers of the Grange in the Northend Lane heirtofore made the ffence betwixt the Grange hoase and the Morehowse and that Richard Molyneux gent. ffarmer theirof ought to make the same.

Item that it is lykewise found by good proofe that when Richard Blundell Esq., Lord of this mannor now deceased Did in his lyfetyme emprove a part of the commons in this lordship called the Marsh and devyded the same amongst the tenantes and charterers in little Crosbie: Did leave sufficient wayes and entries as well to those now emproved closes as also to all ancient closes lying thirabouts One part of the said Marsh was allotted to Nicholas Reignold then tenant to Mr More of the Bancke hall at the nearer end wheirof (lying to the south) betwixt the same portion and another portion allotted to Thomas Ryse deceased was an entry sett out of ffower yards broad and so to go downe betwixt the East side of the said portion allotted to Nicholas Reignold and an ancient close of grownd belonging to the tenant of Thomas Burghe of the same bredth for the occupacion of an ancient close then in the tenure of William Johnson deceased called the Auld Hey But the said Nicholes Reignold did not enclose his said portion from the said entry as others did butt did pasture and occupie altogether during his lyfe and after his decease Hugh Reignold his sonne enclosed the said entrie together within his said portion and left at the further end of the said close a gate both for his own occupacion thereof and for William Johnson to passe throughe to his close and wold not enclose his parte from that

entrie neither but occupied all during his lyffe and since his sonne John Reignold hath occuppied both with soweinge and pasturing the entrie which was sett forth at the emprovinge and also the way which was allowed for William Johnson his occupacion both in moweinge the same and delving ridging soddes upon it and carrieing them away And that the said Richard Blundell, Esq., was soe carefull that Reignold shold be sure to have his full portion that he entreated Thomas Ryse aforesaid to lett him have from his portion fower of his striddes to make the way of at the south end of Reignolds portion which he willingly agreed unto. And further that the Lord of this manor hath wrong done unto him by the enclosures and occupyers of the said Reignolds portion and in danger to loose part of his inheritance if it be not looked into.

	s.	d.
Item that John Ryse tethered three horses in the Towne Field contrary to a former order. In mercy - -	o	6
Item that Henry Williamson did the like. In mercy -	o	3
Item that James Ryse trespassed in eating other menes grasse in the towne field with two horses contrary to a former order. In mercy - - - - -	o	6
Item that John Ryse did the like with one horse. In mercy	o	3
Item that Richard Marrowe did the like. In mercy - -	o	3
Item that Nicholas ffazakerley did the like. In mercy -	o	6
Item that John Shepheard trespassed in turning his mare loose into the towne field in the Barlowes tyme. In mercy - - - - - - - - - -	o	3
Item that Nicholas Williamson *alias* Davie neglected to performe his service to the high waies with a cart. In mercy - - - - - - - - -	o	12
Item that Margerie Tarlton neglected to performe her service to the high waies with a spade. In mercy -	o	6
Item that the said Margerie Tarlton trespassed in getting and grooning of grasse contrary to an order. In mercy	o	6
Item that the said Margery trespassed in taking the lordes wood out of his hedges in the towne meadowe. In mercy - - - - - - - - - -	o	4
Item that Symon Worrall broke the pinfolde. In mercy -	6	8

Item that William Banes rescowed and tooke a horse from Richard Bryanson being going to the pownd with him. In mercy - - - - - - - - - s. 3 d. 4

Item that Richard Garthes Thomas Blundell William Johnson and William Arnold delved flawe turves in theire mosse closes and theirby committed waste. In mercy each of them 6d.; in all - - - - 2 0

Item That Thomas Blanchard putt more cattle in the Sea-field than his parte did extend unto. In mercy - 0 6

Item that Ellen Griffith suffred her children to tresspass in taking of turves contrary to an order. In mercy - 1 6

Item that Jenett Atherton wid. trespassed in taking of turffe. In mercy - - - - - - - - - 1 1

Item that Margery Abbey . . . . had trespassed in taking of turffe. In mercy - - - - - - 1 0

Item that John Bushell took wood or hedging forth of the weayre in Alt to the great hurt of the countrey. In mercy - - - - - - - - - - - 1 0

Item that Katheren Arnold and Symon Worrall have not evened the place wheare they have gotten turves. In mercy each of them 6d.; in all - - - - 1 0

And it is ordered by the jurors with the consent of the Steward as follows in these English words, namely :—

Imprimis that whosoever shall lead turffe within this lordship muck stone or any other thing at unseasonable tymes therby to impayre the heighwayes having warning geven them by the Surveyor to geve over shall for every tyme so offending forfait to the lord - s. 0 d. 12

Item that Edward Ryse and Nicholas Williamson *alias* Davie shall scowre and make a sufficient ffleame either of them anendst theire owne grownd after the Lane syde to avoid and cary away the water from the Towns end past the barne of the said Nicholas Williamson *alias* Davie or the place where the said barne now stands and before the feast of St. James next and so keep the same sufficiently scoured being warned by the Burleymen upon paine to forfait to the Lord for every tyme offending - - - - 0

Item that the occupyers of the six buttes in the towne field shall every one of them at the west end of their butte make a sufficient cartway at the suiht of the surveyor and John Ryse by filling up the hoales and

whelches and keeping open the fleame before Mayday next and so repaire the same from tyme to tyme as need shall require upon warning geven by the Burleymen upon paine to forfeite to the Lord for every defalt - - - - - - - - - - s. 0 d. 6

Item that the occupyers of the heighfield parte shall scoure and fleame all along after theire field end sufficiently to cary away the water which falleth above the Dobbe Lane unto the Poolefield and so to fform a Poole And lykewyse scowre all the fleame on the other syde of the Dobbe Lane that the water may passe by Wm Widowes down to the mosse and lykewyse to breik up the small Lane All which is to be done before St. James Day next and so to be kept sufficiently done from tyme to tyme as need shall require being warned by the Burleymen upon paine to forfaite to the Lord for every default - - - 2 0

Item that a fleame or gutter shall be made from the South syde of Thomas Burghes croft through Henry Williamson's meadow and through all the Dowke until it come anendst the gutter end that goeth through the Cow hey every man that hath grownd thire to make through his owne And that Richard Garthes shall amend his Platt sufficiently that the water may passe under it without stoppe And also scowre his ditch sufficiently that the water may easily passe so farr as belongeth to the said water course All which is to be done before the xxv^th^ day of March next and thence forward to be sufficiently kept from tyme to tyme being warned by the Burleymen upon paine for every default - - - - - - - - - - - 3 4

Item that whosoever within this Lordship shall be knowne to lay either clothes or yarne to dry or bleach upon any mans grasse ditche pasture or meadow (except upon his owne) without lycense shall forfeit to the Lord for every tyme so offending 3d. and to the party grieved 3d.

Item that the tenantes of the plowland shall be ready with Cartes and spades upon warning geven by the Lord or his officers to amend at the Sandy Coppse to defend and keep the said grownde from the sand upon paine to forfaite upon every default of a carte - - 1 0
and for every default of a spade - - - - 0 6

Item that whereas there is an order formerly made that no man shall dryve his Cattle to water forth of the towne

gate but upon his owne grownde it is now agreed that the said former order shall be of no force or strength hereafter.

Officers elected to supervise in the year following :—

Bailiff—William Arnold first sworn.

Burleymen—Thomas Marrow for Symone Worrall, James Nicholason *alias* Davie, Bryan Lea and William Johnson } sworn

Fieldwardens—Peter Stocke Henry Williamson John Mercer and John Ryse Jun. } sworn

Affeerers—James Ryse John Reignold William Norres Henry Banes - - - } sworn

Mosswardens—Richard Ainsworth and William Widall - - - - - } sworn

Surveyors of King's highways—Richard Marrow and Thomas Blundell - - - } sworn

Surveyors of the Sandy Coppes—William Norres Richard Bryanson - - - } first sworn

Ushers of the Court—William Norres Thomas Brugh - - - - } sworn

Examined by me

Edward Stockley
Steward of the said Court.

MASONS' MARKS, AT BURSCOUGH PRIORY, ORMSKIRK CHURCH, BIRKENHEAD PRIORY, AND SOME OTHER MARKS FROM BUILDINGS IN THE COUNTIES OF LANCASTER AND CHESTER; TOGETHER WITH NOTES ON THE GENERAL HISTORY OF MASONS' MARKS.

By W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A.

Read 8th January, 1891.

IT was a subject of great regret to me that, when staying for a short time in the district, I was unable to visit the ruins of Burscough Priory and the interesting old parish church of Ormskirk. Through the kindness, however, of Mr. James Bromley and my brother, I have been furnished with carefully-made drawings and other materials, which have enabled me to lay before the Society this small contribution towards the study of masons' marks in Cheshire and Lancashire.

It is unnecessary to give here a list of all the marks which have been published from other sources, but I may mention that a very good list,

up to the date at which it was issued, will be found in the *Dictionary of Architecture*, and others I shall have occasion to mention. There have been many theories about the meaning, and real reasons for the invention and use of marks. It must, however, not be forgotten, that in the middle ages marks were not peculiar to masons; they were commonly employed by many other trades, and were perhaps more especially used as badges by merchants and traders; though I think I am correct in saying that, so far as we know, they were used by masons as early or earlier than by any other trade. Many examples of potters' and other marks have been published, and it may be interesting to notice that the brick-marks found at the churches of St. Catherine, and St. Mary, at Stendal, in Saxony, both dating from the fifteenth century, are all well-known types of masons' marks. (A. Demmin, *Encyclop. des Beaux-arts plastiques*, p. 845.)

It is only in quite recent times that any attention whatever has been paid to the subject of masons' marks, and this is not surprising when we remember the often-repeated story told by Mr. George Godwin, of the French priest at Poictiers, who, on being shown the marks in his church, remarked:—"I have walked through this church "four times a day, twenty-eight times a week, for "nearly forty years, and never noticed one of "them; and now I cannot look anywhere but they "flit into my eyes."

So early as 1836, Victor Didron, in his report of an archæological tour made in France, addressed to M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, gave an account of masons' marks, and pointed out their value, having copied about 4000. (*Ann. Arch.*, 1845, II., 246.) Attention was first called to their interest and value in this country by the

late Mr. George Godwin. His papers were followed by others, and a quantity of information on the subject has been collected. I may therefore, in the present instance, say a few words calling special attention to some of their chief points of interest. It seems quite clear that it is only by collecting every available mark, with careful notes of position, size, probable date, and any other peculiarity worthy of notice, that we can hope ever to arrive at any definite conclusion about their several uses. Moreover, everyone must agree with Mr. Godwin that "No circumstance which pro-"mises to throw even the smallest additional light "on the early history of those wonderful men to "whom we are indebted for so many magnificent "buildings, can be deemed insignificant or un-"worthy of consideration."

The use of the marks is not confined to any country or any age; they are to be found upon stones used in building by almost every nation of the ancient world. The late Rev. A. F. A. Woodford *(Masonic Cyclop.*, 1878, p. 458) furnishes the opinions of the late Mr. E. W. Shaw—"That "marks were first of all alphabetical, or based on "the letters and numerals of the language of the "country in which the masons were working. The "Roman marks are apparently more symbolical "and less alphabetical, though later the 'Runes' "seem to have been merely used as marks. As "art moved on, mathematical figures and religious "symbols became more in vogue. We think, "therefore, that the masons' marks (like all other "earthly arrangements) developed as time went "on, from the alphabetical and numeralistic to the "symbolical and exoteric"; and he adds, "It is "but fair to observe here, that what is called the "magical alphabet, bears a very marked similarity "to the masons' marks; indeed, it is not too much

"to say that all the letters of that Hermetic "collection have their counterparts in masons' "marks."

The well-known letters, both cut and painted in red, from the Pyramids of Giseh, copied by Col. Howard Vyse, and those found by Col. Sir Charles Warren, upon the foundation stones of the walls of Jerusalem, may be mentioned. Dr. Flinders Petrie, in his work, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887, writes as follows (p. 23) :—"The subject of quarry "marks is much connected with graffiti: and while "examining the quarries for inscriptions, I also "took note of the various quarry marks on their "sides. At the quarries of West Silsileh and down "to Silweh, it was a custom to sculpture in relief at "the head of the quarry some distinctive mark by "which all the blocks from there were to be "known. These relief types, or standard quarry "marks, are carefully carved. * * * * * * "Besides these, sets of marks may be seen on the "quarry side, giving the standard marks with "some additions. * * * * * Probably these "were type marks, to be copied on to the blocks "of one particular batch. When we copy the "quarry marks from the buildings, then it is easy "to settle from what place, and, sometimes, even "from which quarry the blocks have been brought.

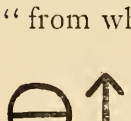


Fig. 1.

"Thus all the blocks of the eastern "pylon at Denderah bear the *theta* "and the arrow, which is the stan- "dard mark of one particular quarry "north of the Seba Rigaleh. At Edfu, "on the quay, we find the table of offerings, "which seems to be the characteristic of "Silsileh. The quay at Esneh also bears "the table of offerings, and the shrine, like "Silsileh. At Kom Ombo, where no quarry lay "above it from which the blocks could be floated

Fig. 2.

" down, except one where the path runs over the " cliff, there we meet just the quarry marks " which are found at this southern quarry. " The large designs" [these include the

Fig. 3.

shrine, a warrior, a hawk, a tree of very Assyrian model, a pyramid, &c.] " at Silsileh seem " hardly like mere quarry marks, but the type of a " shrine may well have belonged to this quarry, " from the fine shrine of Amenhotep III., which " stood here, surmounted by a hawk; the frag- " ments of this shrine and the bird may still be " seen."

In the above instance, the quarries possessed marks. Thus the marks served very much the same trade purpose as the individual mason mark; the superintendence of each quarry was probably in the hands of one or more skilled master masons, who would be answerable for all the stones finished by the workmen employed in cutting stones. It occurred to me that these marks, following a custom of later times, might belong to the temple for which the stones were intended rather than to the quarry—*i.e.*, that a certain quarry, with its own master and workmen, was devoted to the use of a certain temple, but Dr. Petrie informs me that the marks belonging to the different quarries are found on stones in the same building.

Some of the most ancient marks, it is curious to note, have survived through a long series of years in various countries, even down to our own time. Several very interesting tables have been published (Godwin, *Sessional Papers*, Roy. Inst. of Brit. Architects, 1868-69, p. 135; repeated in *Builder*, 1869, xxvii., 245-6), the most recent being those illustrating the papers by Professor T. Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., etc. (*Journal Brit. Arch. Association*, vol. xlv., p. 145, &c.; and *Trans. Lodge Quatuor Coronati, No.* 2076, vol. iii., p. 65, &c.)

It has often been asserted that masons' marks were somehow connected with Freemasonry, and therefore have, or had originally, a mystical meaning. It is perfectly true that on looking over a number of marks it becomes evident that some of them resemble the symbols of many faiths and fancies. An almost equal number appear, however, to be simply alphabetic or monogramatic, and if so, possibly often nothing more than the initial letter of the workman's name, perhaps cut in a fantastic shape. Some of those, however, which assume an alphabetic form, have perhaps quite a different origin. Considering the many sources from which marks have been obtained, this is not surprising. In fact it is clear to me that, although a few general ideas of an origin have been repeatedly asserted, no single origin or source of the symbols will apply perfectly, because the marks have been, to all appearance, drawn from almost every source and every system. For many reasons I must decline to accept the very unsatisfactory theory that the origin may be found in the Runes. It is true that some masons' marks to a certain extent, and others perhaps exactly, appear to resemble Runic letters; but this is not sufficient evidence to prove an universal origin for mediæval marks, which, so far as I am able to judge, were not simply marks of identity of person or work.

The Runic theory is as unlikely and as untenable as that which places their origin in the absurd alphabets given by Cornelius Agrippa, who died early in the sixteenth century. His alphabets must, I fear, be classed with the similar productions published by Von Hammer Purgstall "from "an ancient manuscript."

It is perhaps only a natural supposition that a mason would, in very early times, if allowed, select some sacred symbol belonging to the religion of

his native country, just as the quarry marks found in Egypt, as mentioned above, take in some instances such forms, although in others they may have been alphabetic. It must, however, not be forgotten, when considering the question from a symbolical point of view, that although the forms of some marks did originally carry certain special and particular mystical meanings in the system to which they belonged, we as little know that the masons used them with such meanings as that their symbolism formed any portion of the inner teaching of the craft. Also that with so many different forms it is not surprising to find that marks were by no means confined to any particular craft, but that very similar characters, to some extent at least used for the same purpose, were employed as swan marks, and by different trades, although not at so early a date. [1]

That certain peculiar marks have been handed down cannot be denied, but to explain, I will select for instance an Indian Sect mark, or an Arab Tribe mark, which had a special meaning and symbolism. The form may be found in use up to modern times as a mason's or other mark, but unless it be supposed that almost every system of symbolism became centred in the mason craft, not to mention others—which I am not prepared to allow—it is impossible to believe that the English, French, German, or other christian masons, would use either on a christian, or in fact on any building, intending the mark to carry its original symbolism.

Another singular theory is thus expressed :— "Other signs upon these curious talismans [Mithraic or Gnostic gems] are derived from the "Demotic Alphabet, and are evidently the originals

[1] *Cf.* Homeyer, *Die Haus-und Hofmarken*, Berlin, 1890. (Many plates.)

"of many of the Freemasons' signs, such as are "seen in Roslyn Abbey and other mediæval build- "ings all over Europe. This connection of Free- "masonry and Mithraism receives further confir- "mation from the fact that in the old faith there "were ten mysteries, as there are ten grades in the "masons' craft." (*Archæologia*, vol. 48, p. 243, "New points in the History of Roman Britain," by Alfred Tylor, F.G.S.) I need hardly say that the connexion between Mithraism and Masonry is as correct as the statement that there are ten grades in the craft.

In some instances, at least, in recent times, workmen chose their own marks, and to me it seems much more reasonable to suppose, if the same system prevailed from early times, that with the natural wish to possess something unlike what was used by others, a mason would not take some fantastic form from his "inner consciousness," but simply reproduce a sign he had before seen, knowing, it may be, though I think this doubtful, nothing whatever of its meaning. In other instances, marks may have had and indeed probably had quite a different origin. It has been suggested that in some cases the selection was influenced by the secret societies; I have seen nothing in proof of this, and very much doubt it.

I may, however, quote an instance of modern custom, the explanation of which seems quite clear. Passing along the streets of London, I noticed a large waggon laden with two or three stones. On examination, I found on two of them different modern masons' marks; one, a cross with eight rays, and the other, a letter M, with the uppermost points joined by a line. Side by side with each mark was the well-known emblem in Freemasonry of the Royal Arch, within a right-angled lozenge. Evidently they had been prepared by two masons

associated together by certain ties, having no connexion with their trade.

In the book of the Lodge of Masons at Aberdeen there is a very interesting series of the marks belonging to the members from the year 1670. As the name of the owner is in every case attached to the mark, with the profession or trade, the list forms a very valuable item in the history of modern masons' marks. Some of the members of the lodge are simply described as "measson"; but there are also included in the list, an advocate, a professor of mathematics, an armourer, a glassier, a chyrurgeon, a merchant, and others, including also the Earl of Errolle, who were certainly not operatives. There are also several marks of "entered prenteises," showing that in that town in 1670, as at Edinburgh in 1599, Kilwinning in 1642 and later, at Melrose in 1719-1744, at Brechin 1714-1847, at Peebles 1717-1720, and at other places in Scotland, the system in use required the apprentice to take his mark at the time his name was entered in the book of the lodge. Many references will be found to Scotch marks in Murray Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*.

From the Schaw statutes of 1598 (Lyon, p. 10), it is evident that the admission by the lodge of a "maister or fallow of craft" was a formal proceeding; he was to be "ordlie buikit, and his name and mark insert in the said buik." This record might be assumed to refer to a special kind of mark being given to a master or fellow-craft on his admission. Murray Lyon states that "it only "means that the fellow craft or master shall [must] "have a mark, which he may have adopted on his "being made an entered apprentice; for the ancient "records of Mary's Chapel, and of the Lodge of "Kilwinning show that the possession of these "devices was common alike to all apprentices and

"fellows or masters who chose to pay for them." Again (p. 71), it is stated that in the entries in the minute books of Mary's Chapel (Edinburgh) and Kilwinning Lodges the words used for the registration of marks are—"given," "given out," "chosen," "taken," "taken out," "received," "booked," and "paid for." In some instances at Peebles (*Ib.* p. 419) in 1718, 1723, &c., it is mentioned that several non-operatives on being admitted to the lodge, "chose" their marks.

The rules of the lodge St. John's, Kilwinning (*Freemasonry in Inverness*, Alexr. Ross, p. 43), 25th March, 1745, provide "y^t^ each entred apprentice "may sign the same [the book of bye-laws] in "testimony of his adherence to them, and y^t^ his "mark then taken out may show the members of "this as well oyr. lodges the time of his admission, "&c., ye lodge he belongs to, as well as his "age."

In the regulations of the 2nd of June, 1687, from the books of the Old Lodge of Dumfries (*History*, by James Smith, 1892, p. 6), it is enacted "That no "entered aprentiss be entered till first he pay to "ye master and warden a merk Scots money for "his assignt merk [mark] upon his entry, and to "ye clerk half a merk Scots money also for his "booking."

In the minutes of the same Lodge reference is made in 1739 [*Ib.* p. 20] to brethren at their admission "taking out their mark," and brethren not masons by trade, did this, "and paid for the same." The minute book No. 1 of the same lodge (*Ib.* pp. 66-7) contains a register of marks. A few of them are dated, and none, Mr. Smith states, appear to be earlier than 1716. "Among them are "representations of a crown, a violin, an anchor, a "shovel, weighing scales, an axe, a top-boot, a wig, "a pair of scissors, a coffin, a face, a key, an hour-

"glass, a gridiron, were doubtless meant as *trade* "*marks*, none are probably later than 1800."

It appears to me tolerably clear that the term "entered apprentice" simply meant that the young mason having been taken as or bound an apprentice, was formally entered as one, in the book of the lodge (mark book) used for that purpose, and at the same time entered the craft and the lodge.

Each lodge in Scotland, then, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries kept an independent book, in which was registered the name, generally the mark, and the profession or trade of every member, and each newly-entered apprentice. It seems probable that this was the custom in England, although I do not think it would be safe to assume that in all the different customs of the craft, the usage was identical in both countries.

The above are only a few of the entries I have selected as throwing some light on the manner in which the marks were obtained in later times. It must not, however, be forgotten that they are none of them earlier than the end of the sixteenth century. From them it would appear that no general rule was followed; sometimes the candidate made the choice for himself, but if not able to do so, it was probably done for him by someone present at or before his admission into the lodge. One thing seems certain, that the apprentice could possess a mark as his personal property, but whether during his apprenticeship he was permitted to mark the stones he prepared, is not equally clear. Chalmers states (*Achæologia*, xxxiv. pp. 33, &c.) that "if it should happen that two masons meeting "at the same work from distant parts should have "the same mark, then one must for a time assume "a distinction or, as heralds say, 'a difference.'" If this statement is correct, it follows that in fairly modern times the marks were entirely personal,

and that it was quite possible for two masons coming from different parts to have the same mark. Unless, however, there was a great central authority or authorities in well-marked districts, who were careful in their records, and in communication with the various lodges, there might be endless confusion. Nothing would exist to prevent the new comer above mentioned, on moving to another lodge, reverting to his original mark before it was differenced, for it is said only to have been assumed *for a time*. Supposing a similar event to have happened to both the workmen, there would be in use at the same time two marks exactly the same, used by two different masons; also two differenced marks formed on the same original, and, like Falstaff's rogues in buckram, really belonging to and used by only two workmen. This confusion might easily be increased. Fortunately, however, for those who study masons' marks such cases would be rare. It seems to me also unlikely, considering the manner of thought in early days, and the respect which I believe then existed for marks, that one mason would knowingly assume the mark of another. Still, cases of two men having the same mark must have occurred, at least in recent times, otherwise the rule or custom of differencing would not have existed. From the period when the marks were cut on the bed of the stone and not on the face, such a complication would be of little consequence, as at that time marks had probably lost whatever symbolism they possessed in earlier times, and had been degraded to little better than a mere mark for his tools or check on the mason's work with respect to his wages.

It is stated that the present usage is to some extent the same (Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture*, 1876, p. 131). "On large works a list is kept of "them [the marks] by the foremen, and any new

"man having a mark similar to one already on the "list, has to make a distinctive difference. An "eminent practical mason assured us that from the "character of the mark, he could tell at once the "kind of stone on which it was made."

This distinction of stones appears to point to a distinction of marks; *i.e.*, a difference in the marks belonging to each grade of workmen, unless it resulted simply from the manner of cutting the mark, and the tool with which the stones were finished. Mr. Chalmers writes (*Archæologia*, xxxiv. p. 33, &c.), the rule that every mason should have a distinctive mark "and should affix it to every "stone hewn by him," was strictly enforced in the district of Brechin. "And even now," he adds, "when many men are collected together on a work, "the rule is observed, though not with so much "strictness." The law at Brechin was also that every mason should register his mark in the lodge book, "and he could not change that mark at "pleasure."

The list of workmen's marks, now kept by the foreman of any large works, of course has no other use, I imagine, than to distinguish the work of one man from that of another, a large work not now being the same as the more ancient lodge.

The present usage is more fully stated by Mr. Whitley, in his paper on masons' marks read before the Archæological Institute at Leamington (*Leamington Spa Courier*, 11th August, 1888). The modern custom is for each mason to have a separate and distinct mark, "a register being kept "by the chief foreman wherein every man's name "and mark were entered side by side. Each man "as he finishes his work at the banker, places his "mark upon the stone before it leaves the shed. "The banker is the stone-bed or bench upon which "a mason works. These marks have been called

"banker-marks, and perhaps the name is more "appropriate than that of masons' marks, as the "setters, who are usually selected from amongst the "best workmen, make no marks upon the stone."

In considering the question of the usages and customs of modern times, compared with those of an older period, one important event must not be forgotten. The "Reformation" swept away many of the splendid old institutions, and at the same time, in removing the necessity for the magnificent buildings of old, so disorganised the craft of masons, that many of their rules and customs no doubt fell into abeyance. In my opinion, this movement took away the power of masonic authority, and to a great extent caused the breaking up of the lodges, large and small.

In the Act of the 2nd and 3rd of Edward VI., 1548,—"And it is ordeyned and enacted by "thauctorite aforesaid, that noe p[er]son or "p[er]sons shall at anye tyme after the firste daye "of Aprill next cōmynge, interrupte denye lett or "disturb any Freemason roughmason carpenter "bricklayer playsterer joyner hardhewer sawyer "tyler pavyer glasyer lymeburner brickmaker tyle-"maker plumber or laborer, borne in this Realme "or made Denizon, to worke at anye of the saide "Crafts in anye cittie Boroughe or Town corporate "with anye p[er]son or p[er]sons that will retain "him or them; albeit the sayde p[er]son and "p[er]sons so reteyned or any of them do not "inhabyte or dwell in the Cittie Boroughe or "Towne corporate where he or they shall worke, "nor be free of the same Cittie Boroughe or "towne," &c.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the question of the statutes relating to building trades;[2] but

[2] Those wishing to pursue this subject may refer to Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, Vol. I., chap vii., pp. 328-380.

the above coming soon after the incursion of foreign workmen into this country, must have had great effect upon the building trades generally.

The process, it is true, was, of necessity, gradual; it finally resulted, nevertheless, in quite a different system being formed in carrying forward the craft of masonry. Each mason became more of an individual, and to a large extent lost that *esprit de corps* and united interest in the work which existed before. For this reason it seems probable that though some lodges survived the general downfall of the craft-system and retained in a more or less perfect condition the older teachings, the customs of the present time cannot be implicitly relied on as a guide to the rules of an earlier period.

That certain ancient usages have been handed down seems not unlikely. A curious instance of this was pointed out so far back as the year 1843. (Letter from J. J., *Builder*, vol. i., p. 424.) Ten columns of Sienna marble had been brought to this country from Herculaneum. They were of the Corinthian Order, and were used in a building in England. The writer of the letter says that a modern mason in working a column puts his mark on the front of the head, to denote the handsomest and soundest front, no matter whether it is at a diagonal line or no, and this he found to be invariably the case on the columns from Herculaneum. On four of the columns was a geometrical mark—an acute-angled triangle resting on the base of an equilateral triangle (reversed and divided vertically by a line); two of them had the addition of an horizontal line on the sinister side from the lowest point of the equilateral triangle. Three bore the Greek *delta*, and different Greek characters were on the others.

The question of central authority is too extensive to be dealt with at the present time. Prof.

Lewis remarks (*Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, xlv., 151):—"All evidence seems to point to there having been "bands of skilled workmen attached to great "monasteries, cathedrals, and in later times large "cities, whose example and training influenced "the districts around. When works of great mag- "nitude were in hand, these bands were, no doubt, "increased; and when the works ceased they were "lessened in number, the members dispersing here "and there, and leaving their marks in various "places." I am inclined to go a step further. It seems to me that there were in early times not only lodges more or less permanently fixed at all great buildings, but that they at the same time existed, to some extent at least, in the form of head or governing bodies over certain lodges, which had been started by and were fed with workmen from their own ranks. These lodges, whether temporary or permanent, according to the requirements of the particular case, would naturally follow the same rules, and, no doubt, consider themselves as owing fealty to the head or mother lodge from which they sprang. The members of such subordinate lodges might either return to the mother lodge on the completion of the new work, when not permanently fixed in a district; or, if several different buildings were required within a reasonable radius, become a permanent lodge there, and with assistance from the mother lodge and other sources, supply all the labour required. That the guilds or companies of various towns existed long before they received charters of incorporation is certain, but what was the exact connexion between the head lodge and the "outfield" lodges is not clear.

Nothing but a careful collection of the whole of the marks found in a building, or a number of buildings known to be of about the same date,

where the series or nearly the whole series of marks obviously recur, would settle the question of "differences." It would, at the same time, enable us to distinguish with tolerable certainty in such a case, and would go far towards elucidating the question of head or central lodges.

A comparison of this kind has been made by the Rev. C. S. Beauclerck (*Stonyhurst Magazine*, Dec., 1884) of the marks found at Stonyhurst, and at the Church of Mitton, where the Shireburn Chapel, or "new choir," was built by Sir Richard Shireburn. Mr. Beauclerck has made a careful examination of the marks at Stonyhurst, commenced by Sir R. Shireburn, who died in 1594, before the work was finished. The building was completed by his son, who died in 1628. The foundation stone is supposed to have been laid between the years 1585 and 1588; and the masonry was all but finished at the death of Sir Richard. Little short of seventy masons, it appears, were employed on the works, and Mr. Beauclerck considers that it was commenced with no less than fifty, a very considerable number for a private house. During the building operations Sir Richard Shireburn commenced the Shireburn Chapel at Mitton, which is not far distant.

From the plate of marks illustrating Mr. Beauclerck's interesting paper, it is clear that six of those found at Stonyhurst appear on the chapel at Mitton; all being the marks of masons who worked on stones prepared for special positions in the former building. This, though a late example, no doubt shows that the workmen were drafted off from one place to the other when they could be spared. What became of the lodge of seventy masons when the whole of the works were completed is, of course, not known,[3] but the difficulty of

3 *Cf.* the marks from Bidston Old Hall, Aughton Church, &c.

collecting together such a large number of masons, in such a district as the country round Stonyhurst must have been in 1588, without the help of some central authority, seems to me more than a probability.

Mr. Freshfield (in the *Archæologia*, vol. 50) also states :—"I think I traced the same marks upon "all the buildings of the same date up the valley "of the Ebro ; and I certainly came to the con- "clusion that the buildings had been built by gangs "of workmen that followed from one place to "another, using their marks as they went."

The late Prof. G. E. Street, in his work, *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (p. 438), says that he was unable, except in one or two cases, to detect the mark of the same mason in more than one work. From this he supposes that the masons were "stationary rather than nomadic in their habits, "a deduction which is fortified by the difference of "general character which may, I think, be detected "between the groups of marks in different build- "ings." From calculation, Mr. Street considers that there were a large number of masons working in Spain. This being the case, large lodges would exist at all the buildings, and the necessity for drafting off men would be removed so far as these particular buildings were concerned.

The marks were for the most part in early times cut in the centre, or nearly the centre, of the face of the stone, so as to be easily seen when the stone was placed in the wall. I think it is clear that although some masons were careful to cut their marks in a straight position with respect to the edges of the stone, many were not. Often the mason appears to have cut his mark as he happened to be standing when the stone was finished, regardless of the position. In consequence, marks are often found the wrong way up, and in many

other different positions. This will be easily seen from the plates annexed, upon which all the marks are given as they appear on the stones when built into the wall. Mr. F. S. Waller, to whom I am indebted for an interesting series of Norman marks from Gloucester Cathedral, having for some years had the superintendence of the restoration there, he and his son have had peculiar advantages in examining the stones. He informs me that in no instance have marks been found cut on the Norman stones in any other position but the face.

This, however, does not appear to have been a fixed rule abroad. Mr. Freshfield, in the paper just quoted, mentions that in the desecrated church of Taon, near Caen, which is not a very early specimen of Norman, he found the double-headed arrow cut upon the inner face of the stone, "and "it may be," he adds, "that this was the practice of "the French Norman masons, as it certainly was "a method occasionally adopted by the English "masons of the thirteenth century."

Mr. Chalmers (*Archæologia*, xxxiv., p. 33, &c.) also states that marks are often made on the beds of the stones, and therefore become invisible on buildings. "If it be objected that they thus "lose their usefulness in the appropriation of bad "workmanship to the true delinquent, the answer "is simple; the marks are not made by the "builders, but by those who prepare the stone for "the builders, and when they have passed through "the hands of these their use is exhausted." Other instances have been noticed. Street (*Gothic Architecture in Spain*, p. 113) remarks that in the case of Leon Cathedral, the masons seem to have marked the beds and not the face of the stones; also that the early masons' marks are but few in number. Various portions of the building date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Marks were

also found on the beds of the stones of a conduit at Sherborne, built in 1510. They were also cut in the same position in other countries. Prof. Lewis found some on an over-turned column in the ruined mosque of Amru at Cairo; other marks have also been found at Ascalon in Palestine, and Amman in Moab. (Lewis "Masonry and Masons' Marks." *Trans. Lodge Quat. Coronat*, iii., p. 68.) Mr. Whitley thinks that with the decline of Gothic architecture the marks appear to have disappeared from the face of buildings.

It is not often possible to examine the beds of the stones in ancient buildings. I have occasionally found marks, upon carved work, cut on the bed, but they are not common. They are sometimes numerals, or of simple form, such as a plain cross, and appear to me to be intended as key-marks or guides to the workmen in placing the stones.

I am inclined to refer the date when it became more usual to cut the mark on the bed of the stone to a little earlier than the year 1600; when the craft had lost much of its former glory and power, and the marks themselves had lost, to a great extent, their value and symbolism.

The modern custom is, I believe, to cut the mark on the upper bed of the stone, so as not to be seen when the stone is in its place. There are, however, a number of instances in which the marks appear plentifully on the face of masonry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but principally upon walls and bridges. The size of marks has also been generally reduced in modern times. I do not think, however, that the size can be taken as a certain guide, as I have often seen in early buildings the same mark, evidently of the same mason, cut almost every size between about fourteen inches and three inches in length. Mr. Beauclerck, in the paper on Stonyhurst already referred to, observes

that "if the stone is to be placed within easy view "the mark will be fine and almost invisible; if at "a height it will be big and deep. The same mark "may in one position be an inch long; in another, "two or even three. This seems to be due not so "much to carelessness as to the desire of the "mason to have his mark seen. It appears to have "been their privilege in those times to place their "marks everywhere on the face of the stones."

I think there is no doubt that the masons varied the size of their marks purposely, according to the position in which the stone was to be ultimately placed. I have often noticed that the larger-sized marks were to be found on the higher stones of a wall, though at the same time some marks were of large size even when on the level of the eye. The mason was also, it appears to me, to some extent guided by the size of the stone, and the space available for his mark. I have several times noticed a mark very finely and carefully cut inside the mouldings of a door or window, and necessarily small in size. The same mark has appeared larger in size when placed on the flat surface of a stone.

Mr. Whitley suggests that where large numbers of the same marks are found—as the letter N at St. Michael's Tower, Coventry, and the R and X on the Earl of Leicester's buildings at Kenilworth —"it seems probable that all the stones were not "the work of one workman alone, but of several "working in common in the sheds, and the figure "adopted for the payment of task work. It is "likely, that most of these stones were worked "and marked at the quarry, and brought to the "building for use as required."

Such an argument raises great difficulties. It appears to me possible with regard to Leicester's buildings and restorations, which are dated from 1570 to 1575; but as the tower of St. Michael's

Church is dated 1373 to 1395, it would go far to prove the non-personal use of marks at a very early date. That the old masons did work by task as well as journey is clear, but I am not inclined to adopt the theory that in the fourteenth century a number of masons working together adopted a common mark. The individual masons would naturally be responsible to the master-mason who took the contract, just as they are to the head of the works at the present time.

One point has often puzzled me. It is quite clear that in early times, although in some instances the marks were cut on the beds of the stones, they were as a general rule intended to be visible. A mason was proud of his craft and also of his mark. Therefore, if only as a means of identifying each man's work, each stone should be marked, except in cases, perhaps, when a portion of a building was placed in the hands of one workman. If every stone did not bear a mark, then all possibility of distinguishing the work of different masons, either before or after the stones were placed in the walls, could not exist. It has been seen from the remarks of Mr. Chalmers, in his paper on Brechin marks, that the custom then was, for every stone to be marked by the man who worked it. Why is it, then, that marks are so often found only on some stones, often on the lower courses only? This may easily be seen from the marked stones at Burscough Priory, where two stones come together bearing different marks, either or both appearing again in other places powdered over the walls among a large number of blank stones. In some buildings I have seen the marked stones appearing to exceed in number those unmarked; in other cases, again, almost every stone bears a mark, often nearly all of the same form.

It has been observed by M. l'Abbé Amber, Canon of Poictiers *(Bulletin, Comité Hist. des Arts et Monuments*, iv., 1847-8, p. 220, &c.), that the same form of mark appears in scattered places all over the cathedral, of different sizes and not all equally well cut. He considers that blank stones were marked on the other face, and asks if it is possible to explain the recurrence of the marks by supposing that they were those of the master mason who gave them to the workmen. Such a general arrangement would explain how when a workman died or went away, having worked on a certain portion of the church, left it to his successor, who reproduced it a century or more afterwards in other parts of the building, far away from the place where it was in the first instance used; or that the stones, more particularly the plain square ones, were prepared and kept in store, where they might remain for some years, owing to frequent interruption in the works, and when the time came for their use, they were placed in whatever position their shapes suited.

Mr. Whitley points out that marks are often more frequent in the lower portions of buildings, and grow fewer in number as the height advances. At the same time he mentions the case of St. Michael's steeple, Coventry, which bears marks from the ground to the top of the tower. He also asks the question whether unmarked stones were so left by accident. "It would be necessary," he remarks, "to engage non-Guild or non-Company "masons and local masons to hasten on the work, "and thus the existence of non-marked stones "may to some extent be explained. The stones of "some buildings have no marks shown whatever. "Were all the worked stones left without the "marks the work of non-society men? That some "were the work of apprentices, who would have "no mark."

It does not appear to me to be at all probable that men who were not members of a guild or company would be allowed to work stones in early times in a regular lodge. It had occurred to me that the blank stones might be those squared by the apprentices; in many buildings, however, the number of them seems too great for the difficulty to be thus explained. It has been seen that the Scotch usage in later times was for the apprentice to take out a mark, and it is not at all certain whether the apprentices did or did not mark their work at an earlier date.

The Abbé Amber, quoted above, held the same opinion as M. Didron, who states that "the marks "are often hidden in the thickness of the walls." (*Ann. Arch.*, 1845, ii., p. 248.) M. Klotz (*Ib.*, 1845, iii., p. 54) says "many stones bear no mark on the "face, which is visible, because the mark is cut on "the side built into the wall: a positive proof "that they are the marks of the masons, and not "for the builders." As he was at that date the architect of the cathedral, M. Klosz would have many opportunities of examining portions of the building undergoing repair. The same opinion is held by Da Silva, in his interesting paper on Masons' Marks in Portugal. (J. P. N. da Silva, *Mémoire de l'Archéologie sur la véritable signification des signes qu'on voit gravés sur les anciens monuments de Portugal*, Lisbonne, 1868,[4] illustrated with a number of plates.) He considers that it was a matter of indifference to the mason on which side of the stone he placed his mark, or which way up it was likely to be placed in the building. In the doorway of the old cathedral of Coimbra, Prof. da Silva found marks which would have been hidden behind the shafts of the columns, if the shafts had

[4] An abstract of this paper, by Mr. George Godwin, appeared in the *Builder*, xxvii., 1869, p. 237.

not been broken. He places the date of the cathedral about the year 1111. He also considers that when a workman was employed upon all the stones of a column, or the casing of a door or window, he cut his mark on the base or the foot, which was the place chosen for the mark of the workman. This would not prevent another mark being found upon the base of the other column or casing of the same bay; it only clearly points out that one workman has executed this part of the building, and so no other marks are found on the other stones of this portion of the work. The same system, he observes, was not used with regard to the stones which formed the arches of a roof, or arched buttresses, when every stone may bear a different mark, because many workmen were employed on it at the same time, in order not to delay a portion of the construction upon which depended the continuation of the works.

Da Silva also expresses the opinion that to expedite the work it was necessary to contract with the workmen for the ornamented stones, faced on all sides according to the dimensions and designs of the architect. It was quite impossible in a large building to keep the workmen waiting while a mason finished all the stones for one part; therefore, when he had made ready the number of stones apportioned out to him, he commenced others for another part, higher up; because at the same time other masons were employed on stones which were joined in with those their companions had finished at an earlier time.

These explanations would of course at once clear away the difficulty of some stones being marked and some not, as well as explain the scattered positions in which the same mark appears in many large buildings. At the same time, however, it removes much of the supposed symbolism

of the mark when cut on the face of the stones, and reduces its meaning in this usage to what Da Silva supposes them to be,—mere marks for the identification of work done. It would also be possible for the stones prepared by some of the masons being so built into the wall that not one example of their marks would remain visible. As a personal badge for use on a seal or for any other such purpose, the value of the mark naturally remained as great as ever. Nothing but the careful examination of a number of buildings will satisfactorily settle this point, which does not seem to have been the same in every country. I have quoted Mr. Waller with regard to Gloucester, and such an opinion is decisive with regard to at least one English cathedral; and as far as my own small experience goes, I have rarely found a mark in any position but on the face. Is it possible that upon a certain number of stones each workman cut his mark, and on the remainder of the same batch the mark was painted, like those of very ancient times already mentioned?

I cannot agree with the opinion given by Gwilt (*Encyclop. of Architecture*, 1876, p. 130), that "the "marks which by some have been supposed to be "personal marks of the masters of the works, but "which are in fact nothing more than directions to "the *setters*, and, indeed, are used by masons up to "the present hour." They certainly have other uses, and although this solution is eminently practical, it is the result probably of confusion between two kinds of marks. I think few persons, looking at the very elaborate and beautifully-cut designs so often found, would ever believe for a moment that so much skill, trouble, and time would be wasted for so simple an object. That there was a kind of mark used for this purpose is clear. Prof. Hayter Lewis, in the admirable paper read before the

Lodge Quatuor Coronati (p. 68), already quoted, mentions some marks "from the *beds* of the decayed "stones which had to be removed from the west "front of Wells. They are less elaborate than "usual, and I think it likely that they marked the "intended position of the stones." He has very kindly furnished me with copies of these marks, thirteen in number; one of them, a form of the letter H, occuring twice. Mr. J. T. Irvine, who copied them, states that the stones upon which they were found were so decayed that they had to be removed; and that there must be many more, as no stone was removed which could possibly be preserved.

These marks would date from the thirteenth century, and certainly to some extent resemble masons' marks. From the drawings, I should imagine they were much more rudely cut than the ordinary masons' marks of the period.

An interesting example of external key or guide marks for the builders is referred to by Mr. Klotz, the architect of Strasburg Cathedral. (*Ann. Arch.*, iii., 1845, p. 54.) The west door of Reims Cathedral is covered with carving, the decoration being a continuous design. In order to prevent any stone being misplaced, a regular system is used, by which each of the three doorways are distinguished, as well as the sides of each. All the stones for the central door are marked with a crescent and a T; the left-hand door with an arrow-head and a cleaver, the arrow-head marking the left side of the door and the cleaver the right-hand side. The position of each stone is also pointed out. For example: the first stone on the left-hand side bears an arrow-head and a foot-sole; the second stone an arrow-head and two soles; to the sixth stone, with the arrow-head and six soles.

On the right-hand side, the cleaver is the fixed mark to indicate the right side, and the number of the foot-soles again varies to mark the courses of the stones. The same system is used for the right door, a pick-axe being the mark for the right-hand side and an Ā for the left,—the courses of the stones are again marked by foot-soles. On the central or great door, the left jamb bears a crescent and the right jamb a ⌊. On both the right and left sides is a circle divided by a cross ⊕, which, according to number—like the foot-soles—distinguishes the position of each stone. The same system is followed in the arches, only each stone bears three signs instead of two,—for example: the stones of the right-hand side of the left door are marked with a lozenge, a key, and foot-soles, the latter always marking the course of the stone. The left side of the same arch has a wheel, a key, and foot-soles.

The right-hand side of the right door is distinguished by a crossed circle, the outline of a little house, and foot-soles.

These signs are of course not masons' marks proper, though each of them was used by itself for that purpose elsewhere; they simply show a very curious system of defining the arrangement of stones, where it was specially required.

Colonel Howard Vyse *(Pyramids of Gizeh*, i., 279-284) quotes, with regard to quarry marks, the observations made by my valued friend, the late Dr. Birch:—"A curious sequence of symbols "occurs upon the blocks of the northern and "southern sides of Campbell's Chamber. "The mason has marked upon those of "the south the symbol (fig. 4) 'good' or "'excellent'; perhaps likewise used in "these instances as a cipher, for it is accompanied

Fig. 4.

" by numerals. The first instance presents
" (fig. 5) ' NOFRE, eight,' where the recurved
" line indicative of the decimal has probably
" been rubbed off, since the block next but

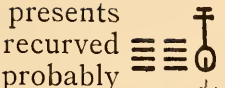


Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

" two in succession has (fig. 6) ' NOFRE, 21,'
" which would make the number of the
" preceding block ' 18.' After 21, a single
" unmarked block occurs, then (fig. 7),
" which signifies ' NOFRE, 2, 3.' No analogy
" between NOFRE and South has yet been
" discovered. The blocks on the opposite

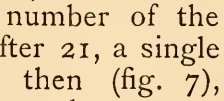


Fig. 7.

" quarter are marked with a Koucoupha
" sceptre (fig. 8), called gom, or tom, appa-
" rently with reference to strength, power, &c.
" One block bears this symbol by itself, and

Fig. 8.

" the other with the numerals IV. gom. IV.
" (fig. 9) At the East end the symbol
" NOFRE again occurs, with some other
" marks, apparently numerals, but imperfect
" and indistinct, and at the joint is a gazelle

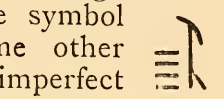


Fig. 9.

" couchant, having before it a sword or glaive."

Another form of instructions to the builders was used in India in early times. Mr. C. Horne, in a letter to the *Builder* (1869, vol. xxvii., p. 504), mentions some Indian masons' marks, from the Buddhist monasteries at Benares, Bukharya, Khùnd, etc., which he states are of the Gupta Dynasty. Many of the stones bore directions in Sanskrit characters, such as *right hand*, *bottom of pillar*, *upright*, etc.

On p. 131 of Gwilt's Cyclopædia will be found what appears to be the generally received opinion of the primary object of marks. " Perhaps the fact of " their occurrence, as in the present day, is simply " due to their being the marks or signs by which " each mason recognizes the particular stone for " the correct workmanship of which he is answer- " able." Rather, I would say, by which the head

of the masons recognized the stone prepared by each workman. Chalmers, in the paper already quoted, published in 1852, has recorded some interesting particulars gleaned from masons of his own time. "I have often asked intelligent and "experienced masons on what principle, or accord- "ing to what rule, these marks are formed; "whether they are symbolical, and of what? The "answers I have generally got amount to this: that "they are supposed to be as old as the human race "itself; that they probably had in early times a "meaning now unknown, and are still regarded "with a sort of reverence, and as something mys- "terious; that the only rule for their formation is "that they shall have at least one angle; that the "circle must be avoided, and cannot be a true "mason's mark, unless in combination with some "line that shall form an angle with it; that there "is no distinction of ranks—that is, that there is "no particular class of marks set apart for and "assigned to master masons as distinguished from "their workmen; if it should happen that two "masons meeting at the same work from distant "parts should have the same mark, then one must "for a time assume a distinction, or, as heralds "say, 'a difference.'"

Last year, when collecting marks in Yorkshire, a working mason of thirty-five years' standing informed me that modern banker-marks, so called from the stone bench upon which the stones are worked, were always cut on the top bed of the stone; that he himself during his apprenticeship used his master's mark, but never cut it in the centre of the stone but always at the right-hand top corner. This he appeared to consider a matter of course, the centre position being reserved for the master mason; the apprentices cutting their marks only in the right and left-hand top corners.

The facts collected by Chalmers make it clear so far as the modern masons at Brechin were concerned, which agrees with the custom of earlier Scotch lodges, quoted above, that the marks were purely personal; also, that they in themselves defined no distinction of rank in the workman. This is, however, entirely in opposition to some of the theories which have been started by various writers. The late Mr. E. W. Shaw, who made perhaps the largest collection of marks known at his time, and who studied them very carefully, believed that, besides the object of recognition of and payment for individual work, they contained of themselves other meanings. He considered that they were handed down from father to son, just as armorial bearings were, and that additional symbols were added to distinguish the different members of one family. That he could trace the marks of the master mason, fellow, and apprentice, and even distinguish what he termed "blind marks," or the marks of those employed on the building, but not belonging to the lodge. He apparently held, also, that by careful study the nationality of the workman could be distinguished from the marks; and as a proof that such was the case, used to point out some of the marks on Fountains Abbey as being of French extraction, and differing from those of this country. (Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, *Masonic Cyclopædia*, p. 458.)

Somewhat similar theories were held by M. Didron, who collected a large number of marks from foreign sources. (Godwin, *Archæologia*, 1884, xxx., 113.) He believed that it was possible to discover in the marks reference to distinct schools of masons or lodges, and that the marks in his collection divided themselves into two separate classes. The monogramatic marks placed separately on the stones, he attributed to the overseers.

Those of the second class partake more of the nature of symbols, such as shoes, trowels, mallets, &c. He then refers to the doorway at Reims cathedral, already quoted, which bears the outline of a shoe-sole. He found this mark also at Strasburg, and nowhere else, and explains this by the fact that masons were brought from Strasburg to work upon certain parts of the cathedral of Reims. I have not yet traced a printed account of this report on masons' marks. It is possible that it is the one already referred to, and mentioned in the *Annales Archéologiques* (vol. ii., p. 249). Le Comité Historique declined to insert M. Didron's instructions about masons' marks. "Il me fut répondu "que c'était peu important, qu'on trouvait partout, "que le murs de la cathédrale de Strasbourg en "etaient couverts. La réponse n'était pas des "meilleures, il s'en faut, cependant elle écarta ma "demande."

It has also been stated that German marks were not personal, but handed down from father to son. This seems to be a general opinion among German writers on the subject. Fort, quoting Klemm and others, has some interesting notes bearing on the subject. Hanns von Böblingen, about 1482, used a certain mark, as also Conrad Roritzer, 1480, and Heinrich von Ensingen, 1387—all celebrated German masons. Their marks were used by their descendants, with slight alterations.

Mr. Godwin states, that in a conversation, in September, 1844, with a mason at work on Canterbury Cathedral, he "found that many ma-"sons *(all* who were freemasons) had their mystic "marks handed down from generation to genera-"tion; this man had his mark from his father, "and he received it from his grandfather."—(Mackey, *Encyclop. of F.M., art. Marks.)*

These statements have been often made and

repeated: a much more useful and practical examination of the subject was made by Prof. T. Hayter Lewis, in the paper already quoted. (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlv., p. 149. He has analysed several series of modern marks, the owners of which are known, and is of opinion that—"Certainly in many cases it is not so. * * * "On the other hand, there are many cases in "which the same marks are used at the present "day by members of distinctly the same family, "there being some slight difference for the sake of "identification." Again (p. 150)—"There is, no "doubt, evidence both ways; but bearing in mind "that the strictness of the rules of the old guilds "had been considerably relaxed even in the seventeenth century, we may, I think, assume with "great probability that the plan still existing of "the same marks being continued in use by members of the same family, with such modifications "as I have noted, was a characteristic of the "mediæval masons." This adoption of a type mark has been extended from that of the head of a family to the head of a lodge, or the foreman over a number of masons. Mr. Whitley supposes that the marks were often handed down from father to son, and that by making certain additions to the mark of the head of a family, or of the foreman. He quotes the marks on the city walls of Coventry as a possible example. Taking a cross as the mark of the foreman, other crosses are found with various alterations and additions. The idea of a head, or foreman's mark being utilised as a basis for others, appears to have been the custom in some instances. In an article in the *Builder*, (vol. xvi., p. 548, 1858), it is stated—"Mr. Brown said "that when he was at Chatsworth he had a book "with hundreds of marks in it, and with the "masons' and stonecutters' names attached to

"them, and that as a new hand or craftsman was "put on a job, he added an additional nick or "score to his master's or foreman's; so that at "once every man's work was known by his mark."

I have known two instances where the marks have been adopted. The Yorkshire mason, already mentioned, told me that at the end of his apprenticeship, when his master was already dead, he assumed his mark. This is not very surprising, he having probably cut the same mark hundreds of times. Another instance has come under my notice, in which a Lancashire mason gave up his own mark and assumed that of his father on his death.

It is quite certain that on classifying the marks found on any building where they are fairly numerous, it often becomes evident that several sets, so to speak, naturally range themselves as formed on what may be called a type-mark, although they individually differ. For example, those from Burscough, Nos. 15 to 26, the letter M, which Mr. Bromley supposes may be the initial letter of *Monachus*, or Nos. 29 to 35, and 41 to 44. Although Nos. 22 to 26 are probably only reversed forms of the previous numbers, they are not always exactly alike. It is most probable that the roundings of the lines in the letter , sometimes in and sometimes out, are simply the result of the fancy of the workman to make the form of the letter more ornate. Such a reason, however, will not account for the main central line being sometimes extended at the top, sometimes below, in both, and not at all; or the additional lines found in some of the other marks. This, it is true, might well be a distinction of various members of one family, but it is equally well explained by assuming that distinct marks are intended, or by the "difference" used among more modern masons.

With regard to Scotch masons, Murray Lyon

writes :—" On the question as to whether or not " marks were heritable by descent from father to " son, we have been able to discover in the Mary's " Chapel records only one instance of a craftsman " having adopted his deceased father's mark." This was in 1609. (Lyon, *F.M. in Scotland*, p. 69.)

It appears to me quite possible that in some families the sons may have taken the mark of the father with a slight alteration. It would more naturally be the case when the father had become celebrated as a mason, and the wish might exist to carry on the same design, just as in the case of a modern trade mark. I do not, however, think it was ever the *rule* in this country.

" It is rarely," Mr. Whitley observes, " that two " marks occur on one stone. In that case, pro- " bably two men worked upon it for some reason." " It was often," he adds, " to their benefit to pre- " pare the stones by piecework—Gothic stonework " being of small and of an innumerable quantity of " stones, with considerable work thereon." This appears to be to some extent a repetition of the ideas of Prof. Da Silva, already referred to.

Everyone who has examined mediæval buildings must have noted some instances in which two marks are found cut on one stone; it is, however, not common. Examples are found at Burscough (Nos. 47 and 48) and at Birkenhead (Nos. 30, 31; 79, 80; 92-93), and I have rarely seen a building in which marks occur in any quantity, where also at least one example of a stone bearing two marks is not to be found. In some instances three or more are clearly defined. It is of course possible that it may be the result of several masons having worked upon one stone, it being only a natural conclusion that the number of marks denotes a like number of masons. No mason possessed more than one mark.

Mr. G. W. Speth calls attention to an interesting instance at Canterbury Cathedral, where there are many examples. The mark (fig. 10) is prominent beyond all others and is seldom found alone on a stone, but almost always with another mark, "as if it were "the countersign of a foreman or inspector." Another mark ▮▮▮ occurs in the same way, and in one instance, on the north wall of the nave, the two are found together, with a third mark, a kind of spear-head. (Note by Mr. G. W. Speth, *Trans. Lodge Quat. Coronat.*, vol. iii., p. 80.)

Fig. 10.

The suggestion that one of the marks is that of the foreman or head master mason naturally suggests itself. In some instances I have been inclined to think that this seemed probable, but where they occur so seldom in a building containing a large number of marks—in some cases only once or twice—it is difficult to see the reason why such should be the case. A similar difficulty arises in the theory of the second mark being the result of piecework, and renders it not entirely satisfactory. It is perhaps worthy of notice that both the marks, Nos. 47 and 48, occur separately at Burscough (and Ormskirk No. 6), also Nos. 30 and 31 at Birkenhead, whereas Nos. 80, 92 and 93 do not, so far as the marks have already been discovered.

"In regard to the arrangement of Marks into "distinctive classes—one for apprentices, another "for fellow-crafts or 'mark-men,' and a third for "foremen or 'mark-masters,'" writes Lyon *(Hist. F.M. in Scotland*, p. 69):—"The practice of the "Lodge of Edinburgh [1599] or that of the Kil-"winning [1642], as far as can be learned from "their records, was never in harmony with tradition "on that point."

Mr. Shaw defined certain forms as "blind marks;" *i.e.*, the marks of masons who were not

actually members of the lodge. This is a refinement to which I shall again refer when mentioning some of the most recent theories of the origin of masons' marks.

The question of arranging the marks so as to distinguish the masonic rank of the workmen, as well as that of dividing one nationality from another, appears to me to be beset with extraordinary difficulties. It is quite true, however, that certain countries used forms of marks rarely found elsewhere, but so far as can be judged they were not all of the same peculiar character; for example, the marks from Spanish cathedrals, figured by Street in his work on Gothic Architecture in Spain. Of course it is possible that those marks which follow other rules in their composition, and resemble those found in other countries, belonged to workmen who themselves belonged to other nationalities. It seems to me hardly possible, however, to establish this theory, until the names of those are known to whom the marks belonged.

Prof. Hayter Lewis, in discussing this question (*Journ. of the Arch. Assoc.*, xlv., p. 150), says that he can see no sign which would define a separate group of workmen belonging to any particular lodge, company, or fraternity. With this opinion I entirely agree, and am glad to find that so great an authority has expressed the opinion; and I would add that up to the present time, though I have copied and studied a large number of marks, nothing has come under my notice in the construction of the marks themselves that would enable me to divide them with certainty into different classes, so as to distinguish the marks of one grade of workmen from those of another.

Anything approaching such a division of the marks points at once to a definite system ruling their choice. It would at the same time decide the

question whether in early times the apprentices, like the superior workmen, placed their marks upon their work as well as on their tools. That there was some kind of system as a basis for masons' marks in early times, beyond the rule of straight lines and angles, appears to me more than probable; but that the system or systems survived to later times was evidently not the case.

It is stated by Rziha (p. 36) and others that the master masons of Germany placed their mark in a shield. This may have been the custom, but upon English buildings I have never found an example of such a usage. It appears to me probable that it might well be done upon seals and monuments, giving the mark the character of armorial bearings, but hardly likely that such a system was generally employed when placing the marks upon stones. A few examples of the seals of sworn masons in France, taken from existing documents, will be found in *Les Métiers de Paris*, by Charles Desmaze (1874, p. 176). They date from the years 1349, 1371, 1372, and bear the hammer, trowel, and square; another of the year 1500, belonging to Jean Chevrin, bears canting arms: within a hedge a tree, against which stands a goat (*chèvre*) on its hind legs. It is perhaps worth remarking that none of the seals given, including also some belonging to carpenters and others, bear any symbol which may be taken as a mark, but rather assume the form of armorial bearings. The same custom was not unknown in our own country. The seal of Walter Dixi (or Walter le Masun), called "Cementarius de Bernewelle," of the fifth of Edward I. bears in a circle an upright mallet, supported by a mallet on the sinister, and on the dexter side an object which it is not easy to distinguish, though it may represent the moon. (Godwin, *Archæologia*, xxx., p. 119.)

M. Louis Schneegans, Archiviste de Strasbourg (*Ann. Arch.*, 1848, viii., p. 186), points out that the mark of Strasburg Cathedral is of the same form as that of Fribourg, the colour only being different. The Strasburg shield is Azure, the mark Or, and the Fribourg shield Azure, the mark Sable. He interprets the mark as a square surmounted by a cross (fig. 11), and states that it is found on portions of the Cathedral of the time of Hülst, though he considers that it is of earlier date. From the second half of the fifteenth century, this mark was taken as a basis for their marks by the masons of Strasburg, and it appears all at once upon the shields of the masters. It runs through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and is found in almost every example. A number of marks are given on the plate illustrating this article of M. Schneegans.

Fig. 11.

Lyon observes (*F.M. in Scotland*, p. 68): "There "is no ground for believing that in the choice of "their marks the sixteenth century Masons were "guided by any consideration of their symbolical "quality, or of their relation to the propositions of "Euclid." A number of examples are given, a large proportion of which "represent the initials "of their owners' names, and they are nearly all "of a sufficiently simple character to permit of "their being cut upon the tools of operative ma-"sons and the productions of their handicraft, or "used as signatures by such as had not been "taught to write—these being the only purposes "to which they are known ever to have been "applied by the Mason Craft in Scotland."

It may be mentioned that Prof. Hayter Lewis, in his paper printed by the Archæological Association, so often quoted (vol. xlv., p. 152), points out that in his comparative tables, consisting of a large number of marks, there is only one mark which

may be looked upon as a sacred symbol, "although "the greatest part of the mediæval buildings "whence they were taken were churches and under "clerical influence."

Victor Didron noticed that crosses were more frequent on religious buildings, heraldic figures *(le blason)* on military buildings, letters abound in churches, geometrical and fanciful signs on castles, and that the variety of marks is much greater in military than in religious buildings. *(Ann. Arch.*, 1845, ii., p. 247.)

Of the many absurd and fantastical notions of the *origin* of masons' marks, I have already mentioned one or two. Those who delight in the maze of imaginary symbolism may have their tastes gratified by a series of articles published in the *Builder* (vol. xxi., 1863, pp. 245, 273, 402, 493.)

It was pointed out by the late George Godwin (*Builder*, 1843, vol. i., 365), "that in the ancient "buildings it is only a certain number of stones "which bear symbols,—that the marks found in "different countries (although the variety is great) "are in many cases identical, and in all have a "singular accordance in character,—seems to show "that the men who employed them did so by "system, and that the system, if not the same in "England, Germany, and France, was closely "analogous in one country to that of the others."

"We still adhere to our own expressed opinion," writes the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (*Mas. Cyclop.*, p. 459), "based on the greater authority of E. W. "Shaw, that especially in the mediæval times, if "not at all times in the history of the building "sodalities, the marks were outer tokens of an "inner organization; that, taken from geometry, "they constituted a sort of universal Masonic "alphabet, which, with some national variations, "was a language the craftsmen could understand." The opinion of Mr. Shaw, with regard to what he

named "blind marks," bears also on this point. If it were possible to distinguish the marks of the members of the Lodge from the "blind marks" of the non-members, some distinction must have existed between the two. It follows, therefore, that Mr. Shaw supposed either that some additional mark was present or wanting in the symbol used by one or both of the two divisions of workmen, or that they were formed on quite different bases. I imagine that by non-members of the lodge he referred to those itinerant masons who from time to time appeared at large buildings, and were supplied with work for a limited time. The latter alternative, when joining members—unless these are included among the non-members—are considered, involves so many difficulties as to become all but impossible. The distinction he possibly referred to was of, or in the lodge itself, the marks of the members of which were formed by some fixed rule.

Carrying out the idea of Godwin, and perhaps that of Shaw also, that masons' marks were formed on a regular system capable of sub-division, so as to suit for individual lodges, one important theory must not be omitted. Prof. Homeyer, in his "Hof- und Hausmarken," first issued, I believe, in 1870, mentions that fifty years previously, or about the year 1820, Dr. Parthey had given him a "mother-diagram" or key-diagram, upon which was based the marks of the masons found upon Strasburg cathedral, the diagram having been discovered by the architect, Arnold of Strasburg. From this key every stonemason was supposed to have selected conjoined lines as his mark. Prof. Homeyer points out that it cannot be the foundation of all marks, as those representing flower pots, letters with circular arches, and mallets could not be obtained from it, or indeed he appears to think from any "mother-mark." He

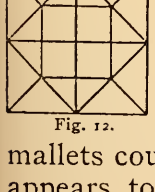


Fig. 12.

also mentions that in the year 1828 the mason Kirchner, in Nuremberg, possessed a book which derived all the individual marks from such a common source. (Ed. 1890, pp. 289, 429.)

This system of derivation has been elaborately worked out by Prof. Franz Rziha, in his work *Studien über Steinmetz-zeichen* (Vienna, 1883), in which will be found a series of plates giving a large number of marks. He contends that from certain primitive geometrical diagrams and their combinations may be obtained a series of "mother-dia-" grams" or keys, on which may be fitted all the masons' marks known. In his plates, sixty-eight in number, he claims to have fitted no less than 1147 marks into their proper diagrams, thus proving the correctness of his system.

The primitive diagrams and their combinations, from which also may be constructed the sections of architectural ornaments (pp. 20, 21), were the geometrical foundation of marks, and a secret in the lodges. From the knowledge of them a mason could "prove" his mark when required to do so, and also on seeing a mark was able to judge of its origin.

The first "mother-diagrams" commence, it will be seen, with a square, turned so as to form a lozenge. By placing the squares one within

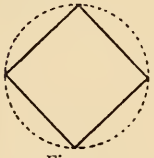


Fig. 13.

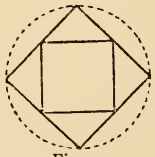


Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

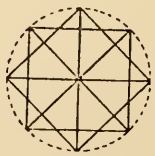


Fig. 17.

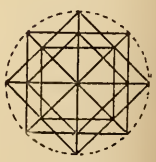


Fig. 18.

another to any number, crossed by lines from angle to angle, any number of diagrams of "combined" squares may be obtained.

The second has for its foundation the equilateral triangle treated by the same rules.

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.

Fig. 22.

Fig. 23.

The third includes the square combined with circles, called by Prof. Rziha "Vierpasse."

Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.

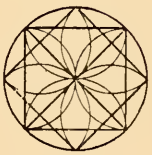


Fig. 26.

The later stages of this diagram become very complicated, like the fourth, which, called "Drei-passe," is formed by a different combination of the triangle and circles.

Fig. 27.

Fig. 28.

Fig. 29.

It will be noticed that the fourth diagram of the first series resembles that given by Prof. Homeyer.

Each is capable of any amount of extension, and the combinations of figures form such an elaborate and ornamental series of diagrams that it is impossible to make them clear in a description, except at very great length. He contends that certain simple geometrical *schemata* were used by the ancient masters as diagrams in the construction of buildings, not only for the main lines, but for the details.

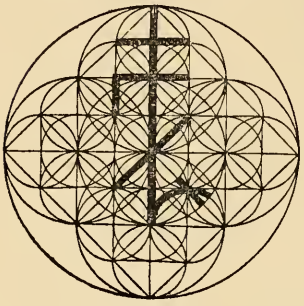


Fig. 29*.

In order to explain more clearly the manner of fitting marks upon the diagrams, I have reproduced one from the series called "Vierpasse." It is given by Prof. Rziha, from St. Stephen's Church, Vienna. (Plate 37, fig. 724.)

From an examination of a number of marks, Prof. Rziha considers that he has discovered the "mother-diagram" of the masons of Nuremberg, Prague, Dresden, Strasburg, Cologne, Vienna, and other towns.

I have thus, as shortly as possible, glanced at this theory, in the elaboration of which its author has certainly spared no pains. I may mention that Heideloff *(Die Bauhütte des Mittelalters in Deutschland*, 1844) reproduces two early tracts on geometry, of 1472 and 1486, the second of which, by Matthias Roritzer, Dommeister of Regensburg, contains architectural diagrams or plans of ornaments, of which the basis is the square in very similar combinations.

The book by Prof. Rziha is one of great interest, whether the theory be accepted or not. It contains a number of valuable notes and references, besides a large collection of German masons' marks.

I cannot, however, entirely agree with his theories; some difficulties arise of very considerable importance. The different examples of the mark of any mason were never exactly the same size; the large one was as correct in form as the small one. It therefore follows that although many simple or even rather complicated marks could be fitted on a moderately complicated diagram, they would equally well find a place on the most complicated diagram of quite another composition. The difficulty is to some extent supported by the fact that all marks found in one building appear to be made to fit upon the diagram or diagrams attributed to that particular school of marks. No account is therefore taken of masons who took out their marks in one lodge, and at a later period moved to another. It appears to me possible that some such system as that advocated by Prof. Rziha may have been adopted in German lodges, where many of the master masons' marks are of peculiar form at a late period; but, without further and more conclusive evidence, I am not prepared to accept such an elaborate and regular system of diagrams as the foundation of the earliest marks, nor even of those belonging to a later period in other countries. As will be seen, we agree in our opinions that geometrical diagrams were the bases of (many) marks, but differ in the application of those diagrams, which is of course the foundation of the whole theory.

Chalmers, it will be remembered, states that on enquiring from operative masons about their marks, he was informed "that they probably had in early "times a meaning now unknown, and are still "regarded with a sort of reverence." This was in 1852. Murray Lyon states "that there is no "ground for believing that in the choice of their "marks, the *sixteenth* century masons were guided

" by any consideration of their symbolical quality, " or of their relation to the propositions of Euclid." With both of these opinions I cannot help agreeing. It must not, however, be forgotten that if the regular use of masons' marks in this country is assumed to have commenced sometime in the eleventh century, one of the above instances is about five hundred and fifty years, and the other about eight hundred years later. Both come from a time when the mason's craft was little more than the empty shadow of its former self. If it be true that masonry contained some amount of symbolism, in which was embodied important secrets, it would almost naturally follow that a certain amount of this symbolism would find an outcome in the marks.

It has already been pointed out that the quarry-marks in Egypt were often religious symbols, but they were at the same time often hieroglyphic characters, which had a definite meaning. I do not, however, suppose that in their use the latter meaning was the object intended. Others take different forms ; for example, those from the quarry at Esneh, Assouan, and Koum Ombos (Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887), like the quarry-marks from Silweh, are not all hieroglyphics, but in some instances present the forms of the marks of later times. Col. Howard Vyse (*Pyramids of Gizeh*, i., 278), during his excavations at the Great Pyramid, found in one of the chambers " many quarry-marks " similar to those in the other chambers, and also " several red lines crossing each other " at right angles, with black equi- " lateral triangles, described near the " intersection, in order probably to " obtain a right angle."

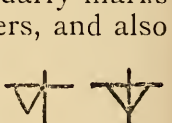


Fig. 30. Fig. 31.

The old manuscript constitutions of the masons, containing their traditional history and rules, so

many of which have now been made available in their original form in the beautiful fac-similes issued by the Lodge Quatuor Coronati, state that the fifth of the Seven Liberal Sciences is Geometry, the most worthy of all, the name having been given to it by Euclid, "and how it is called "throughout all the world masonrie." The earliest known copy of these constitutions—the Halliwell Poem—is called *ars gemetrie*, and states—

> ". . . . . through good gemetry,
> Thys onest craft of good masonry
> Was ordeynt and made yn thys manere,
> Y-cownterfetyd of thys clerkys y-fere;
> At these lordys prayers they cownterfetyd gemetry,
> And gaf hyt the name of masonry—
> Far the most oneste craft of alle."

This manuscript has been variously dated as being of the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

The foundation of masonry was geometry, and masons were sometimes called Masters of Geometry. Of course geometry must always have played an important part in the construction of buildings, and there is no doubt in my mind that the early secrets of masonry were the secrets of geometry as applied to building; what were the other secrets, if any, it is not necessary now to enquire. Secrets of how to construct those beautiful arches, columns, windows, and other portions of the magnificent piles of stonework which still remain as monuments of the skill and knowledge of their constructors. The designing of each separate portion required skill and knowledge, which hardly exceeded that expected from the masons who carried out the designs, and who no doubt in many cases created new forms.

Prof. Hayter Lewis (*Trans. Lodge Quatuor Coronati*, iii., p. 72), writes:—"The idea of there "being any secrets in our Craft appears also now

"to be somewhat absurd; but it ceases to be so, "if we consider the difficulties of construction in "the stone-work of a great building, the methods "of building up the slender columns of Early "English work, taking the thrusts of the arches, "flying buttresses and great vaults, the angles of "octagonal spires, and, above all, in the geo- "metrical arrangement and proportion of the "various parts, so as to form a graceful and well- "proportioned whole. These were, very possibly, "secrets known only to the skilled, and I could "mention some which are well-nigh secrets even "now."

This appears to me to be a just appreciation of the question, and, it must be remembered, is the opinion of one well skilled in the science. It has been asked whether any difference can be found in the marks at different periods. The difference must not be looked for in the manner of cutting the marks, for such differences appear to me to have always existed.

Mr. Whitley has carefully compared what appear to be the various classes of marks found upon buildings in the districts of Coventry and Kenilworth. He considers that at certain periods they changed; the difference being very evident on the additions made to Kenilworth by the Earl of Leicester. This I think is evident, and I have myself noticed other similar instances, but the alterations were made by Leicester between the years 1570 and 1575—a very late date—and at a time when the whole craft was undergoing a change.

It is however in the new shapes of the marks used, as each succeeding style of architecture rose, that the differences will probably be found to have been gradually introduced, at the same time not superseding but running on contemporaneously with the older forms.

Some time ago I formed the theory that the foundation of a large number of marks—even some of those which have the appearance at first sight of being purely alphabetical—must be looked for in the geometrical bases of construction. The lines, angles, and circles required to make what the old Constitutions call a mould or plan, will furnish an endless series of marks. This may easily be seen by consulting almost any work on architecture. Some of the marks will puzzle at first, but, I doubt not, time and patience, with the assistance of a little knowledge of geometry, will resolve them into their proper forms. Others appear to be taken from the propositions of Euclid. It is evident that a number of the early marks are representations of working tools and other objects —for example, the mason's pick, as well as the triangle with or without the vertical line. This is represented, with other tools, in a stained glass window in Chartres Cathedral, of the thirteenth century, where the level appears as an equilateral triangle. The various angles so often found as marks, the right angle, which perhaps also represented the mason's square, are the simple Definitions. The ordinary mark, two parallel lines intersected diagonally, is the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 31st propositions of the First Book of Euclid. The mysterious pentagon, or a portion of it as often found—for example Ormskirk, No. 12—is nothing more than Euclid iv. 11. The first proposition of the same Book contains the acute angle with one line extended. The ninth proposition is the square divided from the four corners. The sixteenth proposition of the First Book involves at least two well-known marks, as well as the seventeenth. The many forms of the triangle are easily to be traced. The second proposition of the Eleventh Book is a common mark. The fifteenth

proposition of Book VI. completes the hour-glass. Of plain crosses and stars, with different numbers of rays, many examples will be found in the Fourth Book. The arrow-head appears in the twentieth proposition of Book III. Of plain lines, also found as marks, and evidently not intended for numerals, many variations could be obtained from the Fifth Book. The letter R, as frequently found lying on its side, is the thirty-second proposition of the First Book. The letter A is the ninth proposition. The M (reversed) and the W are also obtained in the lines required for the construction of the "centering" or temporary mould required in forms of arches. (*Britton*, *Archit. Dict.*, Arches, plate i.) Other well-known forms of marks will be found in this series of plates and elsewhere.

It is needless to multiply the examples, which, with a little trouble, could easily be done. I do not, however, suppose that all marks through the four centuries or so during which masons' marks were of greater importance, were obtained from either the books of Euclid, or from the lines of geometry required for the construction of architectural designs. Many appear to me, however, to have naturally had their origin in these forms; the addition of other lines and marks often more or less disguising the original diagrams. Others were obtained from working tools. For example: Burscough, No. 45, to which I shall again refer, as well as perhaps Ormskirk, No. 7. The Pentalpha, already mentioned, has always, for many reasons, been considered as involving secret and mysterious properties.

In the *Transactions* (N.S. vi., p. 240) Mr. Edward W. Cox, in his valuable and interesting paper on "Liverpool Castle," has worked out his theory with regard to this very puzzling and sacred symbol. It has been used from the sixth century B.C., and

was commonly employed as a mark from the end of the twelfth century A.D. (*Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, xlv., 153, 154.) Cut on the stones, sometimes with long angles and sometimes with short ones, it would, as the basis for the plan of castles or fortifications, carry within itself a most important secret. It was employed as the diagram for the human figure by Leonardo da Vinci, and for other similar purposes during the middle ages. (*Cf.* the sketch book of Villars de Honnecourt, &c.) It is not difficult, therefore, to understand how such a sign, beyond tbe problem of Euclid already referred to, might very well be adopted by the early masons, carrying within it their own symbolism, but having no connexion whatever with the other thousand and one fancies it has been supposed to contain.

It is well known that the possession of masons' marks was handed down by the members of lodges even to absurdity, as will be seen from the quotations given above from some of the Scotch lodge books. A wig, a pair of scissors, and other emblems certainly possessed some trade symbolism, if such it may be called ; but it was not exactly the kind of symbolism used and intended by the early masons. It is perhaps interesting to find, however, that some of the older and simpler forms were in a most marked manner continued in freemasonry.

In "*The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd*," one of the so-called exposures published in 1724, are given the following marks, called "The Free-Mason's Signs":—

A gutteral. A pedestal. A manual. A pectoral.

Fig. 32.

Fig. 33.

Fig. 34.

Fig. 35.

In it is also found a Maltese cross surmounted by a triangle, after the words "The lodge of *St. John.*" Although this work for use among Freemasons is of no value, it is curious to find these figures given. The author of the book evidently intended them to represent what are usually called "signs." It appears to me that they would more properly be denominated, and, indeed, they all of them occur as masons' marks, being simply different kinds of angles and an equilateral triangle. Their value, if they possess any, consists in their being the latest, and, perhaps I might say, the only instance in Freemasonry of the period immediately after 1717 of masons' marks being supposed to carry in themselves some hidden symbolism.

Fig. 36.

For purposes of illustration, I have here and there mentioned certain rules belonging to foreign countries, the authority for which appears to be fairly trustworthy. A consideration of this portion of the subject (foreign marks) would be extremely interesting, but would extend my notes to far too great a length. It would, indeed, be necessary to write a book of very considerable size. I therefore leave the subject with regret.[4]

I have thus, as rapidly as possible, run through some of the principal facts and fancies involved in the study of masons' marks, and have endeavoured rather to bring together information required by anyone wishing to obtain a general idea of the subject than to elaborate any theory of my own.

4 The literature on foreign marks is very extensive. A handy little compilation, dealing principally with those of Germany, is the book by George F. Fort. It does not, however, throw much light on those of our own country. The titles of many works will be found in Homeyer, *Die Haus-und Hofmarken*, Berlin, 1890; and Rziha, *Studien über Steinmetz-zeichen*, as well as many references in the notes of Fort's book, already mentioned (A historical treatise on early builders' marks, Philadelphia, 1885). Some discrimination must be used, however, in the use of some of the authorities, as they are not always equally reliable.

The difficulty has been that of selection, and necessarily much has been omitted and much curtailed, but I trust that I have shown that there really is something to be found out about marks, and that, although perhaps not of first-class importance, they possess very considerable interest and value.

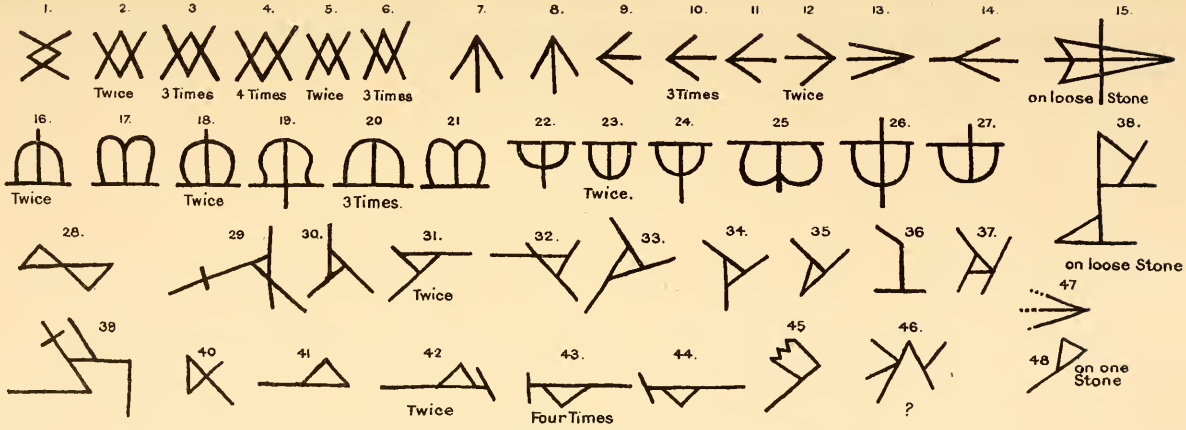
In the plates will be found forty-eight marks from Burscough Priory, forty-three from Ormskirk Church, and ninety-six from Birkenhead Priory. I have included variations. Those from Burscough were found and copied by Mr. Bromley from the walls of the piers of the north transept, or Stanley chantry, the crossing, and the beggars' yard. A plate of the principal part of the buildings remaining will be found in Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*. The highest of the marks is below the present level of the field surface; therefore, none of them were discovered until the excavations took place, of which Mr. Bromley has given such an interesting account, together with a plan of the Priory, and a large number of illustrations in the *Transactions*, vol. xli.

Generally the marks are cut in the centre of the face of the stone, except in the case of mouldings. For full-sized drawings of two different examples I have been indebted to Mr. Bromley, who has also very kindly furnished me with all the necessary information about their position on the building, &c.; they are No. 29 and No. 44. No. 29 measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width. No. 44 is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. In the case of No. 30, which my brother measured for me, the three legs are of different lengths, being $3\frac{1}{4}$, 3, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches respectively. These may be taken as a fair sample of the whole series. It will be observed that the marks which occur most frequently are forms of what has been called the

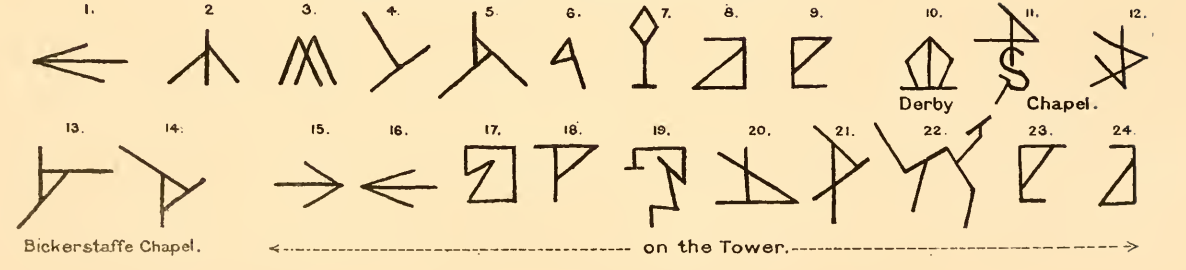
square and compasses, Nos. 1 to 16, fifteen examples of which were found. Nos. 16 to 27, the last six being only accidentally reversed forms, number in all eighteen. The next in quantity is No. 30, and following; all the others are few in number. It would appear that we have the marks of about twenty masons. To take them in order, No. 1 is frequent in different countries at different dates. On comparing the forms in which this sign appears, it seems probable that it really had for its basis something resembling the letter A. This letter A was found by Prof. Lewis as a potter's mark upon tiles from the Tell el Yahoudeh (*Trans. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii., p. 182; *Journ. Arch. Assoc.*, xlv., p. 153), which have been assigned to the second century B.C. and B.C. 1000; I have already referred to this particular form of mark. Other tile marks from the same place are the letter E, a plain cross, and a feather. No. 7 to 14, the broad arrow, is here found pointing to three sides of the stone, but not to the lowest side. As a mark it is universal. I think I have never examined a building without finding it, and it seems to have been in use since the very earliest times. A somewhat similar form occurs in Egypt; Mr. Freshfield found it on the walls of Servius Tullius in Rome; on Spanish buildings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; on the cathedrals of Winchester and Ely; St. Sebald's Church, Nuremberg; the Church of St. Stephen, Vienna; at Constantinople; and in Asia Minor. The frequency with which this mark occurs was explained to him as being due to the ease with which it may be cut. (*Archæologia*, li., p. 50, &c.) I must, however, agree with him that this explanation is not entirely satisfactory, though it was possibly some recommendation.

No. 14 has a similar basis, the centre line being

MASON'S' MARKS, BURSCOUGH PRIORY.



MASONS' MARKS, ORMSKIRK CHURCH.



extended beyond the point. It seems to me possible that they represent the head of an arrow or javelin. No. 15 is an evident arrow-head, crossed by a vertical line.

No. 16 to 21, to which I have already referred, may be an M. No. 22 to 27 show the same form of sign reversed. It is possible that the letter W is intended, which is found of a somewhat similar form at Veruela and Benavente (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) in Spain. The curved marks, though so different from the usual straight lines, still contain the necessary angle. The two series are so much alike that it is doubtful whether both the letters M and W are intended, or only one of them. I am inclined to think they all have the same basis. No. 26 brings to mind the sail of a boat or a banner. (*Cf.* fig. 31, p. 168.)

No. 28, commonly called the hour-glass, has also been in use from the earliest times. Commencing with Egypt, it is found in Persia, Syria, England and elsewhere. As Prof. Hayter Lewis says, "in some form very slightly modified, it has been "used in every age down to the present," and, it might have been added, and in almost every country.

Nos. 29 to 35 are all formed on the same basis, but there are marked differences. Nos. 30, 31, 33 and 34 are the simple ordinary form, in different positions. In No. 32, one of the lines has been extended so as to destroy the perfection of the centre triangle; No. 35 is short of one of its legs. These signs are common. They appear at Pompeii, where the marks must have been cut earlier than A.D. 79. No. 29, it will be observed, has been differenced by extending one of the legs, and marking it with a cross line. Curiously enough a very similar mark was sketched from a stone at Pompeii in 1870 by Mr. William Simpson (*Trans.*

Lodge Quat. Coronat., No. 2076, vol. ii., p. 127), with the variation that the cross, instead of forming a portion of the lines of the mark, was cut separately within one of the external angles.

No. 36, a very simple form, I have not yet met with elsewhere. No. 37 seems to be monogramatic, carrying the letter H; it is at the same time the sign No. 35, with a side line added.

No. 38, like No. 15, is upon a loose stone, and brings to mind some of the loose straggling marks at Gloucester (eleventh century) and on some of the Cheshire churches. If not a form of monogram, it seems to be a combination of two marks.

No. 39 is somewhat similar, and is of a most unusual form. The number of angles they both contain appear to be purposely arranged.

No. 40 resembles the Arabic numeral 4. It is a very common and universal form, having been found on the pavement of the Dome of the Rock Jerusalem, and at Baalbec. (Prof. Lewis, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Association*, vol. xlv., p. 152.) In some examples the triangle is so extended as to resemble an unfinished hour-glass. (No. 27.)

No. 41 seems to be associated with Nos. 42, 43, and 44. The standard or crutched stick occurs in several different marks, sometimes with the angle line, and sometimes with three or more lines so drawn as to resemble a pennon or ribbons.

No. 45 is clearly a workman's tool with a saw edge, very well represented. Such a one is figured in use from a window in the Cathedral of Chartres, executed in the thirteenth century. (*Annales Archéologiques*, vol. ii., pp. 143, &c.; and *Essays on Archæological Subjects*, Thomas Wright, 1861, vol. ii., p. 133.) So far, although my collection of marks numbers several thousands, I have been unable to find another example exactly similar. It is particularly interesting as a mark, when it is

remembered that the founder of Burscough Priory died in 1174, as it shows that this particular tool was in use at about that date. With regard to the tool itself with a serrated edge, the very valuable and interesting paper by Prof. T. Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., already quoted, bears directly on the point. (*Trans. Lodge Quat. Coronat.*, vol. iii., p. 72, etc.) In this communication, entitled "Masonry and "Masons' Marks," Prof. Lewis shows "that there "was a distinct style of masonry as well as archi- "tecture both here and in Palestine at about the "middle of the twelfth century; secondly, that "there was another peculiar type of masonry and "tool-marks of the thirteenth century scarcely "known in England until near the time at which "the Crusaders were driven out of Jerusalem, viz., "in 1187." The first of these is what is usually called Norman, developed at the end of the eleventh century, more refined in the middle of the twelfth, and was then superseded by the beautiful Early English. This appeared at quite the end of the century, and the regular diagonal tooling of the Normans was put aside for altered tools and altered modes of working. The claw tool, mentioned above, was used, and the deep scores of its teeth still remain upon the stones, although the surface is partially worn away. A similar manner of working stones was used as early as the sixth century at Ravenna, Jerusalem in the first century, and even on the stones of the Jews' waiting place, the date of which is a matter of dispute. This distinct kind of tool-marking, says Prof. Lewis, was used in Eastern Europe and Asia from very early times, and was introduced into England at the end of the twelfth century, viz., at the earliest time of our beautiful Early English architecture, and that it quickly superseded another style, whose origin had been in the West. Space will not allow

me to abstract more of this valuable paper. It is interesting, however, to note that this kind of tooling—which Prof. Lewis states is "usually upright "where the surfaces are flat"—appears to be cut diagonally on the stones at Burscough Priory, upon which the masons' marks are found.

No. 46, my brother tells me, is uncertain, owing to the condition of the stone.

The marks at Ormskirk Church (some of which were copied for me by my brother, Mr. Bromley very kindly supplying the remainder) seem to be forty-three in number. Had it not been for the iniquities of would-be restorers, their number would be considerably greater. Mr. Bromley informs me that those now living remember many more marks being visible in the chapel, which are now "re-"stored" from the face of the stones!

It will be seen from the plates that some of those which remain are very similar to those found at Burscough Priory, for example:—

Ormskirk.	Burscough.
No. 1	No. 7 to 13, 47.
„ 2, 33, 38	„ 14.
„ 18, 41	„ 35.
„ 31, 40	„ 40.
„ 5	„ 30.
„ 13, 14, 42, 21 (?)	„ 32 to 34, 31 (?).
„ 6	„ 41, 48.
„ 30	„ 28.

Burscough Nos. 17 and 21 have a more angular representative in Ormskirk No. 10, a late mark from the Derby Chapel. Ormskirk No. 4 may be compared with Burscough No. 36. Ormskirk No. 6 (above) may also be compared with Burscough Nos. 42, 43, and 44.

It must be noticed that in both series of Ormskirk No. 4, &c., one of the legs is longer than the other two. Ormskirk No. 6 only partially agrees with Burscough No. 41; that is to say,

five out of the sixteen marks at Ormskirk are found also at Burscough. Of the others, No. 3, if we reverse it, becomes fig. 37, a sign found upon many buildings here and abroad.

Fig. 37.

No. 7, which is spade-like in form, is found with some variations; for example, one or more cross-bars, at Carlisle and elsewhere. Nos. 8, 9, 23, and 24, which may be connected with a small letter e, formed by straight lines, is an uncommon form. It is found at Strasburg Cathedral. Nos. 10, 11, and 12 are found in the Derby Chapel, which, as Mr. Bromley states, was built about 1572, according to the will of the third Earl of Derby. No. 12 is not uncommon, and is really an unfinished pentalpha. Nos. 13 and 14 correspond with Nos. 4 and 5; Nos. 15 and 16 with No. 1. Nos. 17 to 20 are not very common forms. No. 21 agrees with Burscough No. 32, with only a slight difference. No. 22 is a multiplication of angles, to be classed with Burscough Nos. 38 and 39.

As is well known, there is a tradition that when the inhabitants of the Priory suffered the same cruel fate as those of other similar monastic institutions the Priory Church was dismantled, and the bells taken away, to find a new home in the church of Ormskirk. In vol. vi. (3rd S., 1877-78, pp. 141-150) of our *Transactions*, Mr. James Dixon has given an account of certain discoveries made during alterations in the church. In this he states that the only positive date hitherto recognized with the building is 1273, the year in which it is recorded the endowment was made. Some remains were found belonging to a Norman edifice, which Mr. Dixon supposes existed before the church endowed at the end of the thirteenth century. He also argues other points, which can only be examined properly on the spot.

The Bickerstaffe Chantry was founded in the fifteenth century. The Derby Chapel is entered by two arches. Tradition records that at the dissolution of Burscough Priory the remains of the Stanleys buried there were removed to the newly-constructed chapel at Ormskirk. The dissolution took place about 1536, and ten years afterwards, in 1547, Mr. Bromley states that it was granted to Sir William Paget, K.G.

On the wall of the Bickerstaffe Chapel are two examples of one of the Burscough marks (Ormsk. Nos. 13 and 14, Burscough Nos. 33, 31). Mr. Bromley points out, in his very interesting account of the excavations he carried out at Burscough (*Trans. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xli.), that the masons' marks on the tower of Ormskirk Church are identical with those now remaining at the Priory; and supposes that the tower was built from the stones brought from the ruins of that place. I have given above a comparative list of the marks. It will be noticed that Burscough Nos. 1 to 6, 15, 16 to 27, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42 to 44, 45, 46, and Ormskirk Nos. 3, 4, 17, 19, 22, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 43, are not common to both buildings. Mr. Bromley also calls attention to the fact that the church of the Priory was not demolished until some time after the dissolution, but is spoken of as utterly destroyed in 1572. This would fit very well with the recasting in 1576 of the old 1497 bell, also with the construction of the chapel as a new burial-place by Edward the third Earl of Derby in 1572; he died in 1574. As, however, many marks have been trimmed off the stones at Ormskirk, and many, doubtless, remain on the still-uncovered stones at Burscough, it cannot be positively stated that those marks not at the present time found in either of the lists do or did not exist on the buildings themselves. From the similarity in size of the two sets of marks, I

cannot believe that those at Ormskirk are modern copies of the earlier marks. It certainly is a curious fact, as Mr. Bromley points out, that those parts of the church which tradition connects with the Priory are the very portions upon which the marks are found.

It will be observed on looking at the marks given on the plates, that some of them appear with the angles and other parts pointing different ways, *i.e.*, a mark, as well as exactly the same form reversed. This cannot be accounted for by supposing that the mason took no trouble whether he cut his mark right way up on the stone. For example, Burscough Nos. 30, 31—which corresponds with Ormskirk No. 5—appears reversed in Burscough No. 32, and Ormskirk Nos. 13, 14, and 42; Ormskirk Nos. 8, 9, 23, 24, 27—which is also found at Aughton—appears reversed in Ormskirk Nos. 25, 29, 37, and perhaps 36; Ormskirk Nos. 26 and 28, of similar forms, occur alone. The Z or И of Ormskirk No. 39, I have already mentioned, appears at Aughton as N or Z.

Reversed forms of certain marks are not peculiar to these buildings, and I cannot suppose that they arise always from carelessness or accident on the part of the mason. They appear to me to be sometimes, at least, separate and distinct marks—perhaps a form of "difference."

An interesting point arises about some of the marks from Ormskirk Church. The tower was built about 1560, according to Mr. Bromley. On the tower and spire of Aughton Church, near Ormskirk, (late fourteenth century,) and on the windows of the north aisle (probably post-Reformation),[6] are several marks. Some of these correspond with Nos. 2, 33; 3; 9, 23, 24; 29, 36, 37; 39;

[6] For this information, as well as for the marks, I have been indebted to Mr. Edward W. Cox.

and, I think, probably also Nos. 20 and 32. Five of the marks are found at both places, and only two of them occur at Burscough (Nos. 17 and 14), both of them very common forms. It may, therefore, very naturally be assumed that the same workmen were employed on both the buildings.

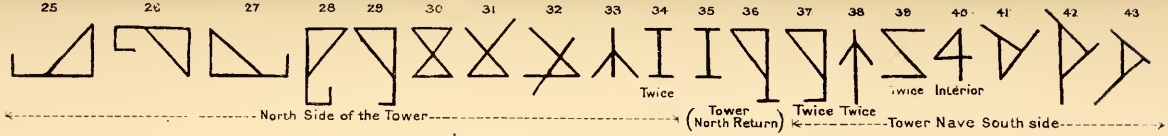
In visiting Birkenhead Priory, from which a number of marks are given, I had the advantage of the assistance of Mr. Edward W. Cox, my brother, Mr. Irvine, and Mr. Charles Aldridge, F.R.I.B.A., whose very valuable paper so fully describes and illustrates this interesting ruin, the very existence of which would be hardly suspected from its surroundings. (*Trans. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xlii, pp. 141, &c.)

The marks had already been copied for me by Mr. Cox, Mr. Irvine, and my brother. They are about sixty-three in number, and it will be seen at a glance how much they differ from those at Burscough. I have in each instance given a number of examples, showing the various positions in which each form of mark is found on the stones. They vary in size, and are most plentiful on the inner wall of the refectory. Most of them are usual forms, to be found elsewhere; some, however, present unusual combinations—for example, Nos. 29, 51, 75, 76, the double mark 80, 91, 92, and 93. Only the commoner forms correspond with those found at Burscough Priory. Birkenhead Priory was founded about the year 1150, and Burscough by Robert fitz Henry de Lathom, about 1124.

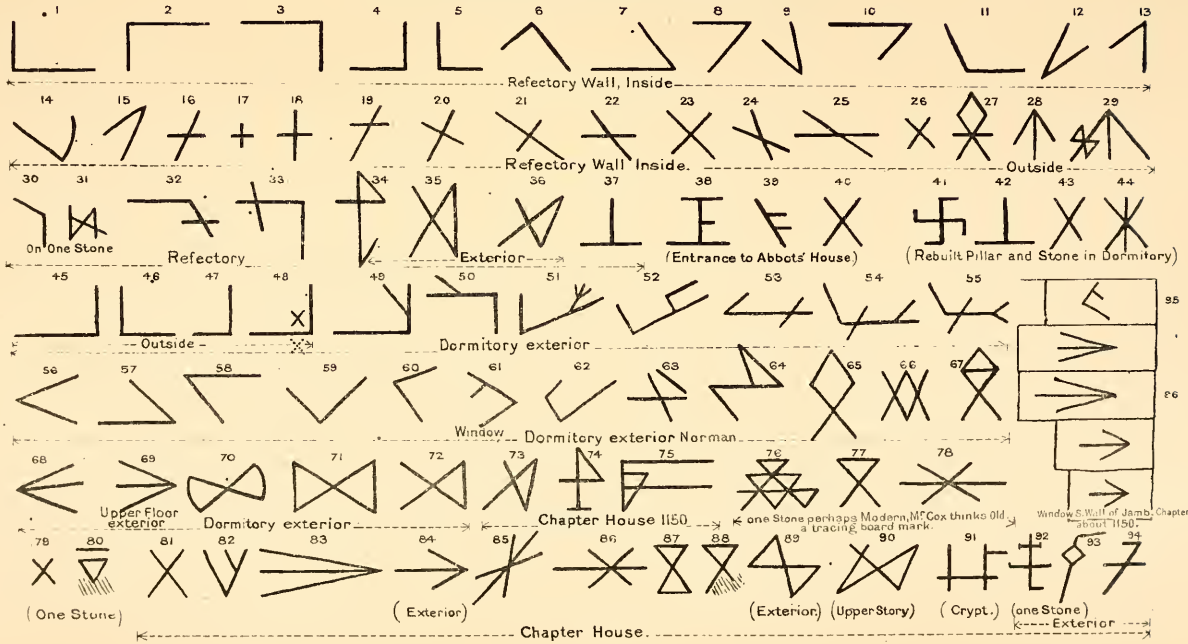
I have added five plates of marks from churches and buildings in Lancashire and Cheshire, forming probably the most complete collection of marks published from any counties. There are many more buildings to be examined, and it is to be hoped that before long the whole series will be completed.

The following series of seventeenth century

MASONS' MARKS, ORMSKIRK CHURCH.



MASONS' MARKS, BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.



W.H.R. del, 1892

marks, for which I have been indebted to Mr. Edw. Conder, jun., Upper Warden for the present year (1893), are taken from the account books of the Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London.

1621. James Gilder - - - - - - -

1626. Timothy Townsend - - - -

1626. John Brown - - - - - - -

1630. William Dorbar - - - - -

1630. Thomas Priestman - - - -

1640. John Hall - - - - - - - -

1646. John Collis - - - - - - -

1646. John Fitzwilliam - - - - -

1655. Richard Herrindine - - - -

1666. Edward Gleamaker - - - -

1667. William Bosworth - - - -

1669. Francis Hodges - - - - -

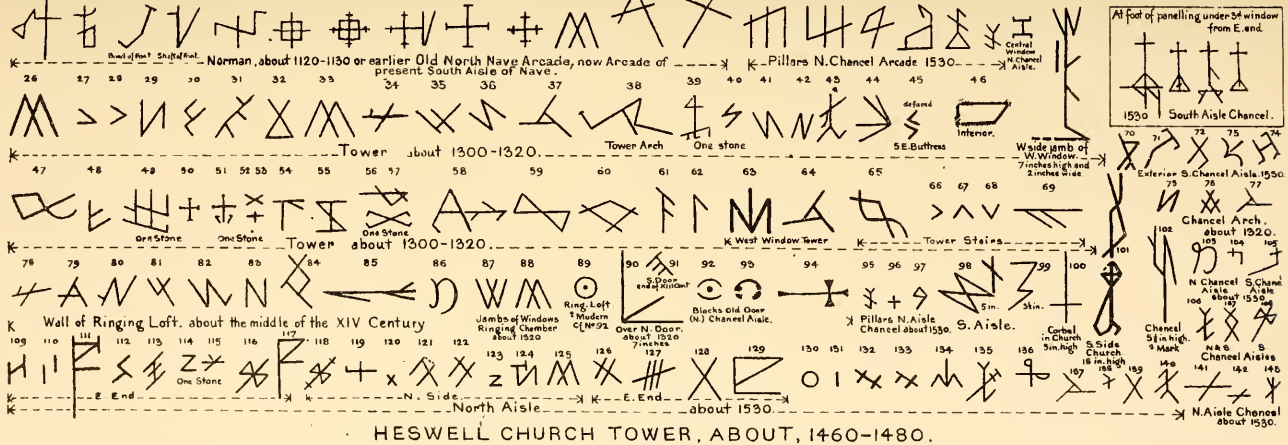
1670. Henry Padgett - - - - - -

This list, though short, embraces, I believe, all the marks now to be found in the books of the Masons' Company. They are not entered in a mark-book, as in the Scotch lodges mentioned above, but are scattered through the records, in place of the signatures of their owners. There does not appear to be any evidence of the manner in which the members of the Company obtained their marks. They are interesting as showing the survival of certain forms. Some appear to be attempts to represent the initial letters of names, and perhaps it is worth remarking that it is the christian name which is selected. In the first, James Gilder, the main line of the mark may be a rude representation of the letter J: Thomas Priestman's mark resembles a T, and that of Henry Padgett is the letter H.

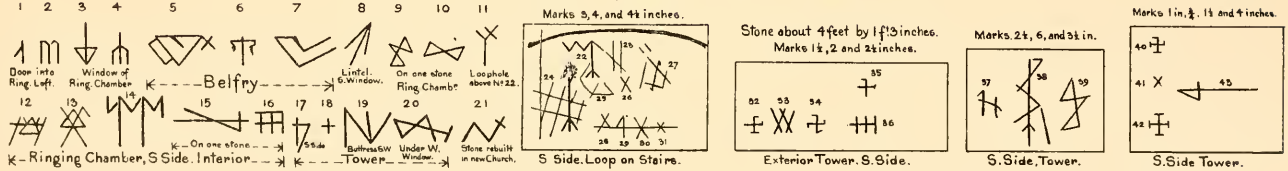
In the five plates of Cheshire and Lancashire marks will be found 1140 marks. Over one thousand of these may be classed together as older marks, and about eighty are modern. For a knowledge of these I have been indebted to the kindness of friends, very few of them having been even seen by myself. Some of the originals are naturally very distinct, whereas others are quite the reverse, but every effort has been made to represent them correctly. For a number of notes on the various buildings I have to thank Mr. E. W. Cox, many of whose remarks I have embodied in the following list. Indeed I may say that without his kind assistance in arranging and dating the marks, I should have been quite unable to offer the Society so complete a series from the two counties.

In order to render the plates more useful, I have added the dates, and a number of notes of the parts of the buildings in which the marks are to

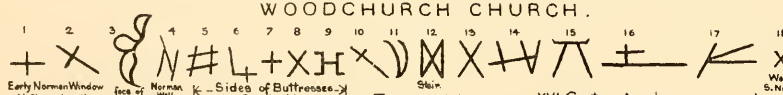
MASONS' MARKS BEBINGTON CHURCH.



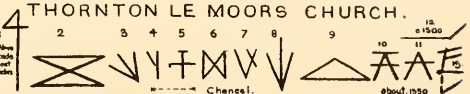
HESWELL CHURCH TOWER, ABOUT, 1460-1480.



WOODCHURCH CHURCH.



THORNTON LE MOORS CHURCH.



W.H.R. del. 1893.

be found, arranging the marks of each series as nearly as possible in chronological order.

Taking a common standard of 3 inches, some endeavour has been made to express on the plates the difference in size of the marks; also the variations in the thickness of lines. Mr. Cox considers that the individuality of the mason is often expressed in his mark, a difference in the manner of cutting being evident, somewhat similar to that in handwriting. This is certainly the case in many instances. I have already mentioned the variation of the same mark when cut upon both fine and coarse stones. I have also noticed the same mark cut both finely and more roughly on the ordinary squared wall stones. This difference seems to me to be to some extent the result of the different tools used in the finishing of different stones.

In the notes will be found some mention of stones bearing groups of marks. On the window-jamb of the south wall of the Chapter House at Birkenhead Priory, about 1150 (Nos. 95, 96), each stone is marked one above the other. At Bromborough Manor House, built in 1673, is another form of grouped marks (No. 9). Three marks are represented together, the upper one being more coarsely cut than the lower, together with a small cross. Each of these are distinct marks; one of them occurs alone on the same building and elsewhere; the other, though an ordinary mark, has not up to the present time been found alone at Bromborough. Another instance appears to be the mark from Bebington (No. 101), which may be two marks conjoined, extending to a length of eighteen inches.

Mr. Cox informs me that the course of stone in which it is found is the deepest in the exterior of the church, and it does not line with the other courses, which are all regular. It seems to have

been specially put in; the distance between a buttress and the window is only two stones.

It marks exactly the place where the ancient Norman chancel began, now overpassed by the one new bay of the new nave which was not completed. The point is marked in the interior by a bracket for an image. At this point the re-building of the church, which is said to have been stopped by the Reformation, ceased, and an awkward junction of the older Norman and Decorated work was made. The living was in the hands of St. Werburg's Abbey: if the work broke off then, we have a series of the very last marks of the old monastic work, and the great mark the last one of all—a kind of farewell mark to the middle ages!

In several of the Cheshire churches Mr. Cox has observed grouped marks of another class, which he suggests are the marks of masons employed on special portions of the work, possibly cut after the setting of the stone. For example, the stone at Bebington (Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25), none of which appear elsewhere on the same building. In the south aisle of the chancel, where this stone is found, the separate marks are few in number; whereas in the other aisle, where there is no grouping, they are numerous. The date is about 1530.

Other instances of the same custom are found in Heswell Church tower, p. 192. One large stone contains about ten marks, another five, another three, and a fourth four. Some of the marks are found in other parts of the building. The date is probably about 1460 to 1480, or perhaps a little earlier. Mr. Cox informs me that the masons employed on the work have made the very best use of the material at their disposal. The very poor, crumbling stone is for the most part used in protected places. Neither the facing stone nor that of the interior

could be expected to retain marks for a lengthened period, so the masons have brought from elsewhere some very strong good stones, and upon them have grouped their marks. The stones have been specially faced, and more carefully smoothed than in other cases to receive the marks, which are still very clear.

I copied a somewhat similar instance of grouped marks from the tower of Pickering Church, Yorkshire. They occur on the newel of the staircase on one stone, opposite a small loop-hole, the light from which shone directly on the marks. Only one of the three marks—which were cut close together—(the hour glass) is found elsewhere in the building. A somewhat rapid examination of the other portions of the staircase did not reveal other marks. The date of the lower part of the tower is said to be about 1130. I have also noticed groups of marks in other buildings in Yorkshire.

Other stones have been observed by Mr. Cox to bear a series of lines. I have given one example (with a mark) from Backford Church (No. 19). These peculiar lined stones, of which the churches in Wirral have yielded a fair number, were for some time a puzzle. Mr. Cox has however discovered a satisfactory explanation, which I trust he will publish before long.

Birkenhead Priory has produced a good series of marks, from Norman to post-Reformation times. One of the first of the monastic buildings dissolved, it was given to the Worsleys, who fitted it for a mansion, altering the Chapter House to suit the purposes of a private chapel. Hence marks of different dates are found in this portion of the ruins, as well as in others.

In the refectory it is interesting to notice, as Mr. Cox observed, that nearly all the marks face eastward, there being scarcely a mark upon the interior of the east wall. The marks are all large and boldly cut; they are only found on the best-finished stones, about 7 feet and less from the

present level of the ground. Several instances occur of two or more marks on one stone. (Nos. 30, 31; Nos. 76, 77, 78; Nos. 79, 80; and Nos. 92, 93, on stones used for alterations and repairs in the Chapter House—both 2½ inches.)

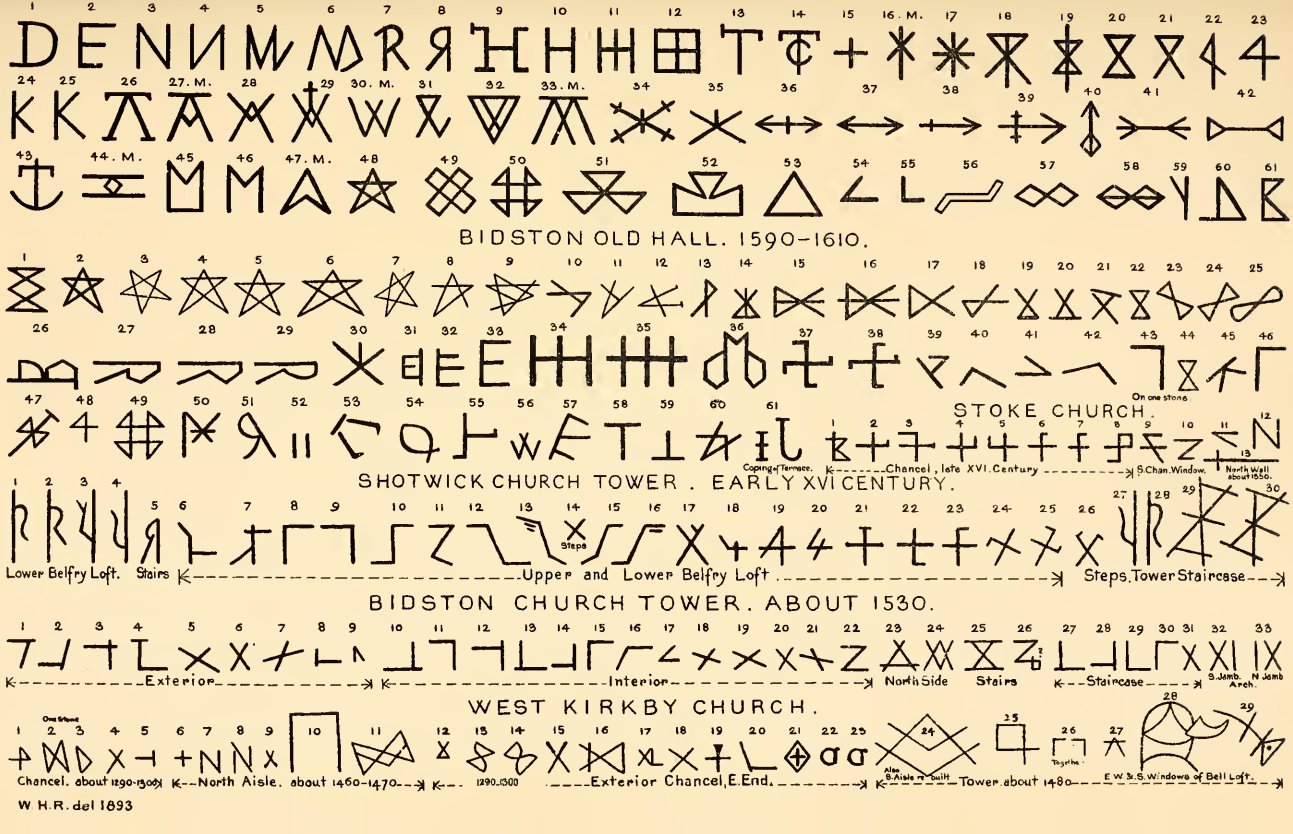
On perhaps the finest piece of moulded work, the main entrance door, it is perhaps singular to find no other mark but the plain cross (No. 20), 1½ and ¾ inches in height.

Stonyhurst College (61 marks).—Taken from the paper by Mr. Beauclerk, already mentioned. Mr. Cox points out that many of these marks also occur at Bidston Old Hall. Stonyhurst No. 35, which occurs only on the best work in the gateway arch—the earliest part of the building—is found only once at Bidston, on good work on a window-jamb (No. 30). No. 11 Stonyhurst occurs only on the same arch, but everywhere abundantly at Bidston. These men, Mr. Cox suggests, left Stonyhurst early and went to Bidston; the mason (No. 11) going through the whole of the work at the latter place. Other masons (Nos. 8, 18, 21, 26. and 55) worked for a certain period at Stonyhurst, and then followed the others—perhaps their superiors—to Bidston, where their marks are found (Nos. 29, 14, 17, 53, and 43). It is perhaps worthy of remark that none of these marks appear at Mitton. Stonyhurst No. 50 is found at Bidston, on the superior work of windows (No. 49). Mr. Beauclerk observes that as the work of Stonyhurst progressed towards the dining hall, the number of men employed—judging from the marks—greatly diminished.

Bidston Old Hall (61).—Some of these marks are coarsely cut, and Mr. Cox suggests that they may be quarry marks. There are besides finely-cut marks—for example: Nos. 3, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 23, 30—which are found on window mouldings. The marks are generally 2½, 3½ and 4 inches in length; No. 29 is 5 inches. Almost all occur very frequently in some parts, every stone being marked: many of them occur a considerable height from the ground, sometimes twenty feet.

Stoke Church (18; continued on the 6th plate).—Copied by Mr. Cox and Mr. Irvine. Mr. Cox points out that No. 13 is found at Eastham on Decorated work, and No. 11 at Bebington. Other marks similar to those at Bidston, Mr. Cox informs me, have been copied from Crosby Grammar School (date 1606).

Shotwick Church Tower (32, two being given on the last plate). Mr. Cox observed that in many instances a small space on the stones was prepared to receive the mark. Mr.


MASONS' MARKS STONYHURST COLLEGE. 1585–1600.
BIDSTON OLD HALL. 1590–1610.
STOKE CHURCH
On one stone
Coping of Terrace.
Chancel, late XVI. Century
S. Chan. Window.
North Wall about 1530.
SHOTWICK CHURCH TOWER. EARLY XVI CENTURY.
Steps
Lower Belfry Loft. Stairs
Upper and Lower Belfry Loft
Steps. Tower Staircase
BIDSTON CHURCH TOWER. ABOUT 1530.
Exterior
Interior
North Side
Stairs
Staircase
S. Jamb.
Arch
N. Jamb
WEST KIRKBY CHURCH.
One Stone
Chancel. about 1290-1300
North Aisle. about 1460-1470
1290-1300
Exterior Chancel, E. End.
Also S. Aisle + built
Tower. about 1480
Together
E. W. & S. Windows of Bell Loft.
W. H. R. del 1893

Irvine, who collected the marks, informs me that Nos. 1 to 4, which are 4½ inches in length, occur very frequently. The other marks measure from 1½ to 3 inches, except those on the steps of the tower stairs. Nos. 27 and 28 are 4 and 4½ inches; Nos. 29 and 30, 5 inches.

Bidston Church Tower (33).—Collected by Mr. Irvine. Each mark occurs many times, for the most part within 10 feet from the ground, except of course those on the staircase. They are all the same size—about 1½ to 2 inches.

The two marks (Nos. 32, 33) which resemble the Roman numerals XI and IX, on the two jambs of the tower arch, may be really numerals, and will compare with a modern mark from Spital Railway Bridge, where the flicks have been added to the lines of two examples, I imagine, to denote the proper position of the characters.

West Kirkby Church (29).—Collected by Mr. Cox. The marks are from 1 to 2 inches, in some instances larger (No. 10, 4 inches; No. 24, 4 inches; No. 25, 3 and 4 inches). The representation of an helmet (No. 28) is finely cut, about 5 inches in height; and the singular and doubtful mark No. 29 is coarsely cut, about 4 inches. They, together with the mark No. 27, are on the splays of three of the windows of the ringing room, that on the north side being unmarked. The north is a cold, cheerless quarter, from which no light was to be expected.

Bebington Church (143).—Collected by Mr. Cox. No. 46 is a doubtful mark; No. 91 is lightly cut, but fairly clear; No. 102 is badly made, and may not be a mark.

At the eastern angles, the marks run high up the walls; elsewhere they stand low, and run laterally. Mr. Cox suggests that when placed in vertical lines they are intended to indicate the number of men who worked on that particular part, thus indicating work or batches of work. Mr. Cox also points out, that though the style of window arches and other parts of the north and south chancel aisles differ—the north appearing to be earlier than the south—the masons' marks (Nos. 19, 106, 120, and 123) are found clearly cut upon portions of both, showing that the same masons worked on both.

Mr. Cox also points out that certain similarities in the architecture of the extreme west end of Chester Cathedral, and portions of Bebington Church, show personal style, both buildings having been in progress at the time of the Reformation. He also compares the marks upon these portions of the two buildings—Chester Nos. 55, 56, 62, 63, and 65;

Bebington Nos. 108, 116, 118, 114, 123, 23 and 25; as well as the somewhat similar marks, Chester No. 15, and Bebington No. 22—thus connecting the same workmen with both buildings. The marks Nos. 19, 20, and 122, are found on the best work. To No. 101—a mark 18 inches in length—I have already referred.

HESWELL CHURCH TOWER (43).—Collected by Mr. Cox. (See p. 188.)

WOODCHURCH CHURCH (18).—Copied by Miss Cox. Here is also the mark (No. 9) of the skilled mason who worked at Bebington (No. 20). On the face of one of the buttresses is the extraordinary mark No. 3, which is about eight inches in length, deeply cut, weathered, and evidently old. Mr. Cox suggests that it may be a rude representation of an ox-yoke.

THORNTON-LE-MOORS CHURCH (32, 14 being given on the last plate).—Collected by Mr. Cox and Mr. Irvine. Only the best stones have retained the marks; the others, of coarse sandstone, have much perished. From the position of the various marks, Mr. Cox suggests that this is another instance in which portions of the building (tower, south aisle, and chancel) were each marked, and not the separate stones.

EASTHAM CHURCH (52).—Collected by Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine.

BURTON CHURCH TOWER (6).—Copied by Mr. Cox.

WALLASEY CHURCH TOWER (3).—Copied by Mr. Cox and Mr. Irvine. No. 1 is about 5 inches; Nos. 2 and 3 about 3 inches.

RABY WATERMILL (5).—Collected by Mr. Cox. Sizes from 1¼ to 2 inches; very finely cut upon the best stones of window-jambs, &c. No. 1 is found four times; No. 2 twice; No. 3, which looks like two marks joined, once.

BACKFORD CHURCH TOWER (21).—Collected by Mr. Cox and Mr. Irvine. It resembles in all details Shotwick and Bidston. The marks measure from 1 inch to 2½; one (No. 3) is 4 inches.

BROMBOROUGH MANOR HOUSE (8).—Copied by Mr. Cox. They are upon very well-finished and rather large ashlars, of which the house is built. The marks are clear and fine; No. 9 appears to be two marks combined, with the addition of a third—a small cross.

ST. PATRICK'S WELL, BROMBOROUGH, is hollowed in the rock, and contains a coarsely-cut mark, which may possibly not be that of a mason.

Storeton Hall (23), for which I have been indebted to Mr. E. W. Cox. Some of these are from the interior; those from the outside are from weathered stones, and are therefore a little uncertain (Nos. 5, 9).

Some marks are very deeply and boldly cut, and others very lightly, and it is to be noticed that several of the lines have nail heads.

In two cases the most strongly-cut marks (Nos. 1 and 4) are nearly over doors leading eastwards, and are duplicated and cut close up to the top of the rooms. It is possible one of the openings is modern, but it may formerly have been a window. Here also, on an east wall facing west, there is a series of marks, standing alone, with few below, and none above them on the same wall.

Ince Manor (16).—Copied by Mr. Cox. A grange of St. Werburg's Abbey, Chester. The marks measure from 1½ to 4 inches. No. 1 is of very large size, being 9 inches; No. 10 is found on the best and best-finished stone.

Brimstage Old Hall (12).—Collected by Mr. Cox. The marks are large (being 4 and 5 inches; sometimes 2½ and 3 inches) and strongly cut, and are taken from the older portion, none being found on that part of the house rebuilt in the seventeenth century. Mr. Cox thinks that in the mark No. 8 may be recognized the same manner of cutting as the same mark at Chester Cathedral porch, No. 61.

Aughton Church, near Ormskirk (16).—Copied by Mr. Cox. They are of different sizes. Nos. 1, 4 and 6 are 4 inches; Nos. 2, 3 and 7, 2½ and 2 inches; No. 5, 6 inches. The later marks—Nos. 8 to 14—are small (1½ inches), except No. 9—which measures 3 inches. Some of the marks resemble those found on the tower of Ormskirk Church.

Neston Tower—the only ancient portion of the church remaining—has only produced one mark, copied by Mr. Cox.

Southport Church (2).—From the oldest part. Collected by Mr. Gregson.

Shotwick Lodge—examined by Mr. Cox—produced only one deeply-cut mark.

Puddington Hall—also examined by Mr. Cox—appears to bear only one mark of large size.

Chester Cathedral (67).—Collected by Mr. Cox and Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine.

Mr. Cox considers that the marks on the north transept and south door appear to be grouped, and that they were, like others, cut when the stones had been fixed in their

places, denominating a considerable piece of work. He is inclined to think that this system was followed as often as that of marking separate stones.

CHESTER: CHURCH OF ST. PETER'S AT THE CROSS (11).—Copied by Mr. Cox. Vary in size from ¾ to 2 inches; finely cut.

ST. MARY'S NUNNERY GATEWAY, now removed to the Park, has two examples of one mark, about 2 inches in length.

"COTSARS TOWER," CHESTER CASTLE (6).—Copied by Mr. Cox. Now used for military stores. The marks are from the stairs, in a space of about two square yards. Probably contains many other marks.

"THIMBLEBY'S TOWER," CHESTER WALLS (1).

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER (56).—Collected by Mr. Cox, the sizes ranging from 1 to 6 inches. They are very numerous, and are so much differenced that only a selection is given. The cross is the most abundant, and the letter A (No. 23) the next in number. Miss Cox observed that both at St. John's Church and the Cathedral, on the seventh course of stone from the top of the plinths or bases, there is almost always a mark on each piece of work, and that in St. John's Church it is nearly always a cross.

CHESTER CITY WALLS (18).

As there has been a considerable amount of discussion with reference to the date of the various portions of the walls, it may be well to consider the marks in regular order.

No. 1 is said to be Roman; a similar mark is found from Norman times up to the year 1500, as follows:—St. John's Church No. 31, Birkenhead ? No. 91, St. Peter's Church (Chester) No. 67, Chester Cathedral No. 7, St. Peter's Church (Chester) No. 4, Brimstage No. 10, Woodchurch No. 5, and Sefton No. 38.

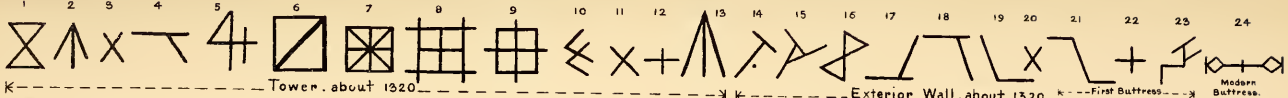
No. 2 is similarly placed: commencing at Bebington (No. 11), it runs through nearly the whole series, ending at Ormskirk (No. 3), and Aughton (No. 14).

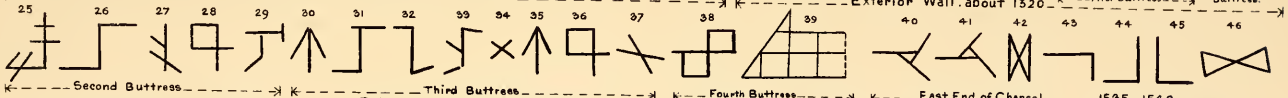
No. 3 resembles Sefton No. 5, Heswell No. 37, St. Peter's Church (Chester) No. 3, Woodchurch No. 9, Bebington Nos. 20 and 74.

These marks Nos. 2 and 3 are finely cut, after the manner of the mediæval masons.

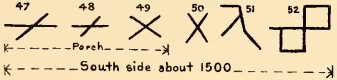
Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, are on the late mediæval wall immediately above. No. 4 is a common mark. No. 5 (already mentioned) exactly resembles Ormskirk Nos. 34 and 35

MASONS' MARKS, EASTHAM CHURCH.

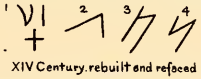




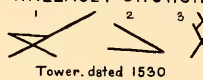
EASTHAM CHURCH



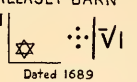
BURTON CHURCH TOWER



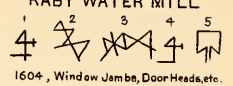
WALLASEY CHURCH.



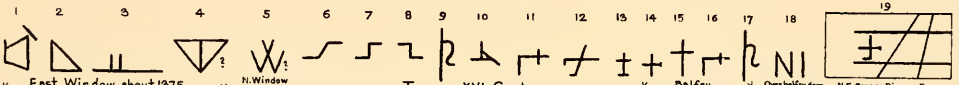
WALLASEY BARN



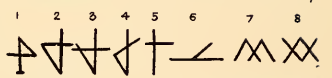
RABY WATER MILL



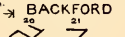
BACKFORD CHURCH.



BROMBOROUGH MANOR HOUSE. 1673

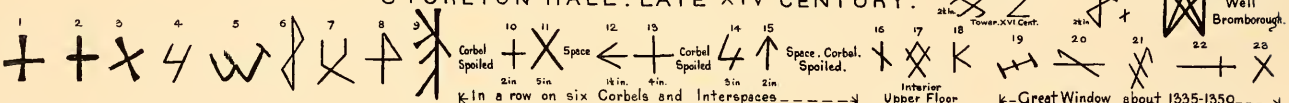


BACKFORD

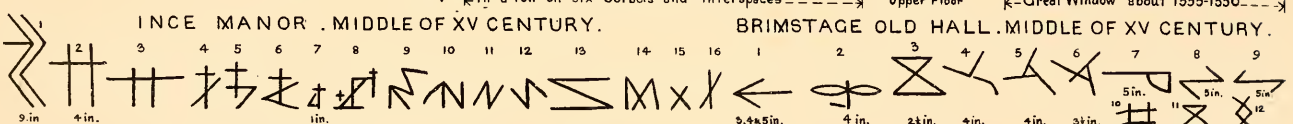


St. Patrick's Well Bromborough.

STORETON HALL. LATE XIV CENTURY.



INCE MANOR. MIDDLE OF XV CENTURY.



BRIMSTAGE OLD HALL. MIDDLE OF XV CENTURY.

AUGHTON CHURCH, NEAR ORMSKIRK.

NESTON TOWER

NORTH MEOLS (SOUTHPORT)

SHOTWICK LODGE

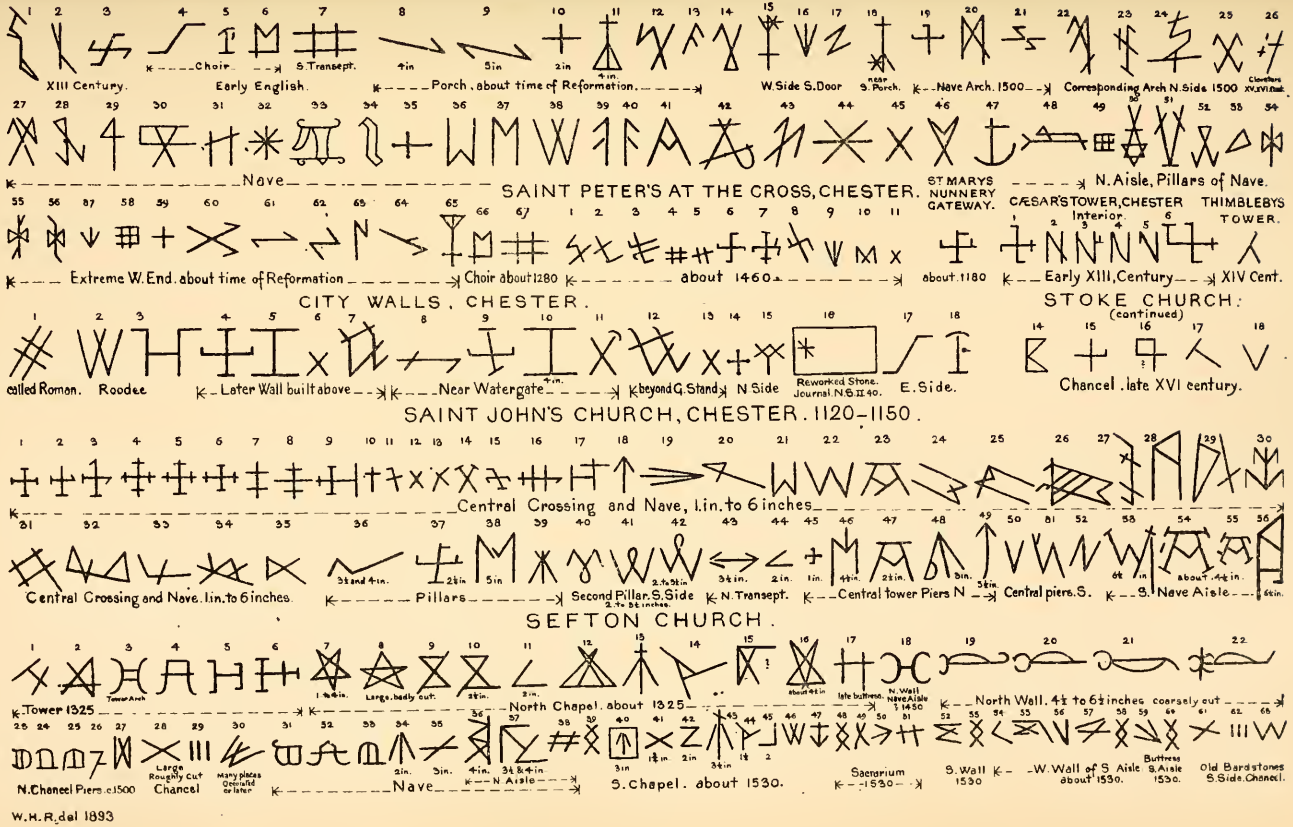
dated 1653

PUDDINGTON HALL

Very late XVI Cent

W.H.R. del, 1893.

MASONS' MARKS CHESTER CATHEDRAL.



(tower). No. 6 is very common. No. 7 has no other example, except No. 12 from the same walls, where also is found a similar cross to No. 6 (No. 13).

No. 8 is not uncommon in other parts of England, as also No. 9, which appears to be a badly-cut example of No. 4.

No. 10 is similar to No. 5.

No. 11 is the cross, differenced, and might occur at any date.

Nos. 12 and 13 have been already referred to; they nearly coincide with Nos. 6 and 7.

No. 14—1½ inches, finely cut—is not an uncommon mark.

No. 15—2 inches, finely cut—is simply Burscough No. 1, or Bidston Hall No. 4, or Stonyhurst No. 8—differenced with a line, as in Stonyhurst No. 29, where the line is again crossed.

No. 16, a re-worked stone, is similar to Birkenhead Nos. 44, 78, 85, Thornton No. 14, Lydiate Nos. 9 and 10, Chester Cathedral No. 44, Stonyhurst and Mitton No. 16? and is found on the exterior of St. Mary's Church.

No. 17 is found at Chester Cathedral No. 4, Eastham No. 21, up to the XVI. century; Shotwick No. 12, and Backford No. 6.

No. 18 agrees with Chester Cathedral No. 5, dated 1189-1272.

So far as I am able to judge, none of the above are Roman marks.

St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester (3).—Unfortunately I have omitted to include these in the plates. They are found on very good masonry of the end of the fifteenth century—the St. Andrew's cross, 2½ inches; an extended form of the unfinished hour-glass, 4 inches; and a Gothic form of the letter B 1 and 2¼ inches. There is also a well-preserved example of the cross on the exterior of the church, similar to that found on the city walls (No. 16).

Sefton Church (86).—Collected by Mr. William E. Gregson and Mr. Cox. All the marks are small in size. The very curious marks, Nos. 3 and 18, are unusual forms, as well as Nos. 19 to 22.

Lydiate: St. Catherine's Chapel (12).—Copied by Mr. Cox; from 1½ to 2½ inches.

Lydiate Hall (4).—Copied by Mr. Cox; size 1½ and 2 inches.

To these are added eighty-two modern marks from the same district, for which I have been indebted to Mr. Cox and Mr. Irvine. Many of the stones from the railway arch, old Monk's Ferry station, it will be noticed, bear two marks. The broad arrow, which looks like a counter-mark, does not always occur in the same position with the mason's mark. In the plate they are placed near together; they are, however, in many cases, a good distance apart, on long stones of about five feet. The measurement is from 6 or 7 inches over all. Some examples are often repeated, and vary to some extent in size. Mr. Cox points out the similarity between No. 4 and the ancient Rock Perch, a landmark which stood on the site of the present Rock Lighthouse; and that No. 3 resembles the old Bootle seamark.

Marks occur also on the other railway bridges, and I am inclined to think that the stones were prepared in bulk, marked, and used for the various bridges as required.

The marks from the wall in Dog Lane, Bebington, copied by Mr. Cox, are of singular form.

Many of them occur over and over again. They are coarsely cut, and of large size, measuring from 3 inches to 10 inches. Nos. 3 and 4 are small (1 inch).

Those from a garden wall at Bebington, Mr. Cox tells me, are only on the best-finished stones; the unmarked ones are the worst work in the wall.

The mark from Spital railway bridge appears to resemble the Roman numeral IX or XI. Mr. Cox informs me that it occurs on perhaps twenty stones, and each example bears the little "flick."

Necessarily, in the plates of marks there are many repetitions. From the comparison, however, as mentioned above, some interesting points arise, and it will be more convenient, perhaps, in considering the comparison, to place the whole series of marks in chronological order. This arrangement has also some disadvantages, as the recurrence of marks upon different buildings, or on any one building, is not easily discovered without, in the

MASONS' MARKS, SEFTON CHURCH.
N.Wall
E.Wall of Porch. 1580. Exterior.
Sacristy about 1500.
Sedilia. 1522
Double priests N.Chapel
String course Nave
Aumbry. late.
Chancel Buttress
S.Chancel Wall.
Pillars. N.Arcade
W.Chancel Wall
Late XVI or XVII. Century.
THORNTON LE MOORS CHURCH.
SHOTWICK CHURCH.
5 Inches.
5. Inches
Ringing Chamber and Belfry, about 1290
Piscina.
Lower belfry loft, early XVI cent.
MODERN MARKS, MONKS FERRY RAILWAY BRIDGE ABOUT 1848.
one stone
one stone
one stone
one stone
WALL STANFIELD Rº BEBINGTON. ABOUT 1840.
WALL DOG LANE; BEBINGTON. ABOUT 1840
WALL AT BEBINGTON. ABOUT 1840.
SPITAL RAILWAY BRIDGE
3 in
4½ in.
1 in.
1 in.
9 in.
9 in.
7½ in
9 in.
10 in.
2½ in
2½ in.
3 in.
2¾ in.
2½ in
2 in
5½ in
4 to 9 in.
W. H. R. del, 1893.
LYDIATE
ST. CATHERINES CHAPEL. 1485.
2 in.
2 in.
1½ in.
1½ in.
1 in.
2½ in.
1½ in.
1 in.
1½ in.
1½ in.
1 in.
1½ in
LYDIATE HALL. 1485-1495.
1½ in
1½ in
1½ in.
1½ in.
Over Chimney Breast. S. Wing.

first place, tracing the mark to the earliest date at which it appears.

Certain marks recur again and again, for example the broad arrow (Burscough, No. 7, &c.), the hour glass (Burscough, No. 28), various forms of crosses, the plain straight St. George's cross (Birkenhead, No. 17), or the St. Andrew's cross (*Ib.*, No. 26), with their many variants. These may well be left out of all consideration, unless, as sometimes happens, they bear a distinctive difference. To this small list, it will be noticed, some others may be added, being in use throughout several hundred years, thus going far to prove that, in some instances at least, either different generations of men bore the same mark, or that certain forms were carried forward by different generations of the same family. On this subject I have already given some notes. When, however, the same mark is found on different buildings, within a reasonable distance from one another, both buildings being of about the same date, I think we may fairly conclude, as in the known cases of Stonyhurst and Mitton, pointed out by Mr. Beauclerc, that the stones in both places were prepared by the same workmen. Several instances have been already mentioned, and others will be found in the following notes, some of them being made more marked by the class of work upon which the workman is found to have been employed.

The earliest marks in the list are those from Bebington Church, dated 1120-30. No other examples of these have so far been discovered. No. 6 is repeated at Eastham (No. 9) in 1320. No. 9 occurs at St. John's Church, Chester, at about the same date, and again at Bebington (No. 50), being last seen at Heswell (No. 42) about 1460-80. No. 10 is also found at St. John's Church.

No. 11—a common form of the letter W—commencing at Bebington (No. 11), is repeated (Nos. 26, 33, 87, 88), Eastham (No. 10), Backford (No. 5), Heswell (No. 33), Chester Cathedral

(No. 38), Sefton (Nos. 46, 52), Bebington (No. 125), Ormskirk (No. 3), Stonyhurst and Mitton (No. 30), Bidston Hall (No. 56), Aughton Church (No. 14), and Chester Walls (No. 2). The general form is the same in all, though there are slight differences in the manner of cutting: for example—where all the angle lines are crossed (Heswell No. 33).

No. 12 (Bebington), which resembles a form of the letter A—unless it is a portion of the pentalpha—may be associated with Thornton Nos. 10 and 11, West Kirkby No. 27; again, Bebington No. 79, Shotwick No. 19, Ormskirk Nos. 20, 32, Bidston Hall Nos. 10, 11, 12—have a certain resemblance.

No. 13—which has been compared with the numeral 4, but which really appears to be in many instances an unfinished hour-glass—is found almost everywhere, sometimes with added lines, as at Eastham (No. 5) and Sefton (No. 80), which agrees with Stonyhurst No. 31. Other forms will be found in Stonyhurst Nos. 22 and 60, the former of which agrees with Bidston No. 13.

No. 20 occurs at Birkenhead with the addition of a line (No. 31), Thornton (No. 1), Heswell (No. 43), Chester Cathedral (No. 29).

The plain angle (No. 33), with an extra cross-line or without, may be compared with Birkenhead Nos. 11, 32, West Kirkby No. 20, Thornton No. 12; and again, at a later period, Bidston Church No. 16, Sefton No. 55, Bebington 104, 105, and Backford Nos. 11 and 16. A form like the letter M, No. 46, appears at Bebington (No. 63).

From St. John's Church, Chester, will be found a selection of the various forms of crosses, some of which are represented elsewhere. For example: No. 8 agrees with Birkenhead No. 94; the swastika No. 15 may be compared with Birkenhead No. 41 and Chester Cathedral No. 3, St. Mary's Gateway, and perhaps Cæsar's Tower No. 1; again, at a later date, Bidston Nos. 37, 38, and the City Walls of Chester, perhaps, Nos. 4 and 9. I mention these, but do not attach much importance to the recurrence of any form of cross.

St. John's Church No. 31 is repeated at St. Peter's Church (No. 67), Chester Cathedral (No. 7), again at St. Peter's (No. 4), Brimstage Hall (No. 10), Woodchurch Church (No. 5), Sefton Church (No. 38), and perhaps the City Walls of Chester No. 1.

The small angle No. 44, and the letter N or Z, No. 52, in various forms will be found in use throughout almost the entire period covered by the plates.

Of the Burscough marks I have already made several comparisons. Others may be mentioned: the common mark No. 30 occurs at Bebington Nos. 37, 64, 77, Eastham No. 15, Sefton

No. 14, Brimstage 5 and 6; Eastham Nos. 40, 41, Sefton No. 44, Bebington No. 137, Ormskirk Nos. 5, 13, 14, and Backford No. 10.

Nos. 1 to 6, is found at Birkenhead No. 66, Bebington (slightly altered) No. 76. It does not appear again until about 1530, at Bidston (No. 24), with which may be compared Stonyhurst 28 and 29—the latter possibly being differenced—Bidston Hall No. 60, and the walls of Chester No. 15.

Birkenhead Nos. 31, 71, &c., the hour glass in various forms, is often repeated, two or three examples of nearly the same date may be mentioned—Chester Cathedral No. 20, Eastham No. 42, and Sefton No. 27. A common form (Nos. 37, 42)—West Kirkby No. 5, Eastham No. 14—is found later at Sefton (No. 70), Ormskirk No. 4, and Bidston Hall (Nos. 58, 59).

Different forms of No. 31 may be compared, in Bebington Nos. 48, 61, Eastham No. 27, Aughton No. 1, and Chester Cathedral Nos. 39, 40.

The star, Nos. 44, 78, 85, appears at Thornton (No. 14), and at a later period at Lydiate Nos. 9, 10, Chester Cathedral No. 44, a slightly different form at Stonyhurst and Mitton No. 16, and on the City Walls, Chester No. 16.

The triangle, West Kirkby No. 3, occurs at Thornton (No. 9), and Backford (No. 2).

The figure, St. Peter's Church No. 66, appears only once again, at about the same period, at Chester Cathedral (No. 6).

The crossed tick, Nos. 7, 20, 21, of Thornton, are found at Bebington (Nos. 35, 78, 81), Storeton Hall (No. 14), St. Peter's Church, Chester (No. 2), and at a later period, Woodchurch (No. 6), Bebington (Nos. 72, 78, 81), and Shotwick (No. 20).

Of the pentalpha, Thornton No. 16, there are not many examples; Sefton (Nos. 7, 8, 16) an incomplete form: Ormskirk (No. 12), and on the two buildings of about the same date, Stonyhurst (No. 48) and Bidston Hall (Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9).

For Bebington Nos. 38, 39, 43, 47, 54, 55 and 69, no corresponding marks appear. No. 60 is found at Storeton (No. 17), and Heswell No. 27.

No. 65, a common mark, bearing some resemblance to Burscough Nos. 1 to 6, is found at Brimstage (No. 12), Lydiate (No. 6), Sefton (Nos. 39, 48, 58, 60, 68, 79), Bebington (Nos. 84, 107), and in an extended form at Bidston Hall (No. 1).

Sefton No. 17, occurs at Heswell (No. 23), St. Peter's Church (No. 5), Ince Manor (Nos. 2, 3), Chester Cathedral (No. 31), Sefton (No. 51), Bebington (Nos. 122, 126, 132, 133), and Shotwick (No. 31).

Of a number of the Heswell marks (Nos. 1 to 14) I find no other examples. No. 19 is found at Ince Manor (No. 10) with a somewhat similar mark (No. 9).

The long cross, Storeton No. 22, is found at Stoke Church No. 13, and appears again at Bebington at a later period (No. 100).

The mark already mentioned, Lydiate No. 1, occurs also at Bebington (No. 129), Ormskirk (No. 28, etc.), and Aughton (Nos. 10, 12).

The double axe, Chester Cathedral No. 54, appears at Bebington (Nos. 108 and 116); in an altered form No. 118; Bidston Hall (differenced) No. 47, and Chester Cathedral (late work) Nos. 55, 56.

The letter H, Woodchurch No. 9, seems to correspond with Bebington No. 20, Stonyhurst No. 9, other forms (Nos. 10, 11) appearing on the same building.

The anchor, Chester Cathedral No. 47, agrees with Sefton No. 77; and Sefton No. 47 appears at Shotwick No. 10, and Backford Nos. 7 and 8.

A somewhat similar mark—Shotwick Nos. 12, 13, 15 16, with a differenced form, Nos. 13 and 16—is found at Backford (No. 6).

The portion of a star, Bebington No. 115, agrees with Stonyhurst No. 35, and Bidston Hall No. 30.

The curious forms of the letter M—Sefton Nos. 82, 83—somewhat resemble Stonyhurst Nos. 5 and 6.

Shotwick Nos. 1, 2, 4, 27, 28, is probably the same mark as Backford No. 9; and various forms of the letter R will be found in Shotwick No. 5, Stonyhurst Nos. 7 and 8, Bidston Hall Nos. 27, 28, 29, and 51. The letter K appears—Stonyhurst Nos. 24, 25, and Bidston Hall No. 45. A form of the letter B is found at Stonyhurst (No. 61) and Stoke (No. 1).

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

By Dom Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B.

Read 15th December, 1892.

FEW counties in England have altered so greatly in the last two centuries as Lancashire. While Wilts and Dorset—even Cheshire and Derbyshire, nearer home — have scarcely changed with the passing years, the discoveries of iron and coal, the growth of a great commerce and the vast increase of its population have made of Lancashire a land which the men and women of the sixteenth century would barely recognise. And we, if we would understand the manners and institutions, the tone of thought, the social standards of olden days, must try and forget the present. Above all, if we would grasp the right idea of the theory and functions of the religious houses which—few in number and comparatively of slender importance—were scattered over the broad surface of Lancashire, we must put aside all thought of our ever-growing cities, the busy, crowded and unrestful population, the marts and

manufactures, the canals and railroads, the ships and the smoke, the thousand enterprises and multiform activity which we associate with our county to-day, and go back in imagination to the times when there was scarcely a more thinly-peopled part of England than the land between the Duddon and the Mersey. This great shire was but a poor place as things went then. Of its towns, Lancaster was probably the only one whose name was known two hundred miles away; Preston, and the vast aggregation of cities which men call Manchester, were but thriving market towns; Liverpool—mistress of the commerce of two continents—was but struggling into existence, when the earliest of the Lancashire monasteries was founded on the banks of the Ribble. From the eleventh to the eighteenth century the county was sparsely peopled; its towns and its parish churches were small, and few and far between; woods and wolds, fen and heathland, had but in part been brought under cultivation. In matters ecclesiastical things were little better; the distant sees of York and Coventry shared between them the responsibility of its spiritual needs. A borderland between Briton and Saxon, its people retained but traditions of the apostolate of Germanus, Patrick, and Kentigern, of Augustine and Wilfrid; and no great minster had arisen, as in other shires, to be the home of those traditions, and the central shrine and focus of the religious life of the surrounding country.

But though, with the exception of Whalley and Furness, the monasteries of Lancashire attained to no great eminence, the work and influence of the monastic orders made itself felt at an early period after the Norman settlement in England. We must look to the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Shrewsbury for the first connexion of the county with the new life which was welling forth from the great

Benedictine houses, thanks to the energetic and healthy action of Lanfranc and St. Anselm. Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, had refounded the decayed minster in the town of Shrewsbury, and there in later life was sworn a monk and ended his days. Godefrey, his viscount, shared his lord's enthusiasm for the new foundation. His little son Achard was already consecrated to the monastic life in the cloister school at St. Peter's; and on the day of its hallowing the devoted father made over to the abbey his church of St. Mary at Walton, and the church of Kirkham and his vill of Garstan.[1] Shrewsbury Abbey held these gifts till the suppression of the monastery; and besides Walton, it enjoyed the patronage of the daughter chapelries of Liverpool, West Derby, and Kirkby. The spiritual connexion between the Shropshire abbey and its Lancashire churches was strengthened by other ties; the manor of Wolstan, lands at Wildgrene and a fishery in the Mersey, gave the monks a very real interest in the prosperity of their northern estates.

While Shrewsbury was thus attending to the souls, the priory of Birkenhead was busying itself about the bodies of the good townsfolk of Liverpool. The history of our commerce may be said to begin with the foundation of the monastery at

[1] "Godefridus vero vice comes ejus [*i.e.*, Roger, Count of Poitou, son of Roger the founder] qui in eadem ecclesia filium habebat monachum, concedente sibi comite, dedit monachis ecclesiam de Walleton et illam de Cherchehan cum quadam villa quæ dicitur Garstan, teste Roberto Cestriæ episcopo."—*Monasticon*, iii, p. 519. Godefrey's charter is given at p. 521 *ib.* St. Mary's Church at Walton was given "in die dedicationis ejusdem ecclesiæ cum omnibus ipsius villæ, et ecclesiam quæ habebat in dominio S. Michaelis [? St. Michael in the hamlet], Cherchehan. cum sacerdotibus, et terram quæ ad eos pertinet. Adjecit etiam ipse Godefridus donis supradictis, villam quæ dicitur Gerstan (Garston) et omnia perpetuo concessit in elemosina supradictis monachis, pro anima sua et suæ conjugis et parvulo filio nostro Achardo, quem monachum fecit in ecclesia S. Petri."

The church of Kirkham, after being alienated for a time, was recovered by the monks. A patent of Henry VI. confirms the church of Walton "cum capellis de Liverpoole, Derby, et Kirkby annexis," to Shrewsbury Abbey.

Birkenhead; its prosperity, at any rate, was bound up with the fortunes of the ferry which the monks established across the Mersey. Leaving to abler hands the task of telling of the slow growth of Liverpool's greatness, I will pass on to my more immediate subject — the religious houses of the county.

A beginning was made at Penwortham in 1087; Lancaster followed (1094), and Furness (1127); the cell of Kershall, near Manchester (1184), comes next; and then the houses of Canons Regular at Cartmel (1188) and Conishead (*ante* 1189). In 1190 the Premonstratensian Abbey of Cockersand was established, and the Priory of Hornby, of the same order, probably about the same time. Burscough, a priory of the Black Canons (*ante* 1199), was the last house of that order founded in the county; the later monasteries were those of the Durham monks at Lytham (1199), of the preaching friars at Lancaster (1250), the minorites at Preston (*circa* 1250), and the Austin friars at Warrington. The Abbey of Whalley was transplanted from Cheshire in 1296; and Upholland Priory, 1319, was the latest pre-reformation foundation of the Black Monks, or Benedictines, in the whole country. A single nunnery, that of Blackburn, of the Benedictine order, is mentioned by some writers, but its history is so obscure that we may pass it by with this bare allusion to its existence.

Abbey, Priory, Cell; Monk, Canon, Friar; Benedictine, Cistercian, Augustinian, Premonstratensian, Dominican, Franciscan—what ideas do such words convey to the majority of readers? Truly, to judge from the very promiscuous use which even standard writers make of them, we have need of greater lucidity in these matters than commonly prevails. Nor should such knowledge be difficult to acquire. An age which prides itself on the scientific nomen-

clature which obtains in chemistry, botany, or entomology, should be ashamed of the ignorance and inexactness prevalent in a department of learning at least as well worth study as those just named. At best such information as passes current on the matters now under consideration does not touch more than the outside of things; many a writer, learned in the cut and colour of the religious dress of our forefathers, would be puzzled to explain the radical difference between, say, a monk and a friar; between a Canon Regular and a Carmelite. But differences there were, and were intended to be; and those differences were in the middle ages well understood. The men who founded our ancient religious houses, and the men who elected to live therein, both knew what they were doing; kings or nobles did not act at haphazard when planting a colony of black canons or white, black monks or white, on their estates; and it must be presumed that when a man knocked at the gate of a Benedictine rather than of a Premonstratensian brotherhood, he did so because the one life seemed better suited to him than the other. To draw out some few of the differences, radical and ethical, between the religious institutes represented in old Lancashire, is the purpose of this paper. My remarks group themselves naturally round the monasteries of the county in their chronological order: first, the houses of monks—Benedictine, Cluniac, Cistercian; next, those of canons—Austin and Norbertine; and, finally, the convents of friars above enumerated. With the late-founded house of black monks at Upholland I shall finish what I have to say on the leading varieties of the mediæval religious ideals represented in the county. My purpose is to say something of the "inwardness" of this or that monastic movement which has left its traces amongst us; referring those who

wish for a mere enumeration of prelates and possessions, of charters granted and churches impropriated, to the bulky volumes of the *Monasticon*.

To begin with our oldest monastery, the Priory of St. Mary, at Penwortham, on the south bank of the Ribble, over against Preston, the earliest Benedictine house erected in the county :—

I.—Penwortham ; *St. Mary's Priory.*
(*Monasticon*, iii, 417.)

Though founded only in 1087, by Warine Bussel and Albert his brother, with the approval of Pope Alexander III, Penwortham Priory lived with an older life than its own, for it was peopled by monks from Evesham, and continued throughout the four hundred and fifty years of its existence to be a dependency, or cell, of that great abbey, itself four centuries old when it sent forth its sons to the distant home prepared for them in Lancashire.

And here we are brought face to face with a question which constantly confronts us in the monastic annals. How is it, that even among monks of the same rule such diversity prevailed ; that some houses were independent, others dependent on greater abbeys ; that some were exempt, others not exempt from episcopal supervision ; that some were styled abbeys, others priories ? I hope to give an answer to most of these questions as we proceed. Penwortham, then, was a Priory, and a dependant priory, of the order of black monks, as they were generally termed then, or Benedictines, as we now say, and was a cell or dependency of Evesham abbey. The rule of St. Benedict had become by this time—I am speaking of the 11th century—the recognised 'rule of monks' throughout the western church. Imperceptibly and slowly, but surely, it had come to prevail over all others ; earlier and

alien foundations accepting it, more recent ones knowing no other. No date can be fixed for this significant fact; no ecclesiastical enactment furthered its supremacy; its victorious progress can only be ascribed to the innate wisdom, discretion, moderation, and sound principles of spiritual life and government embodied in its pages. Monks, and therefore "rules" of some sort there had been almost from the beginning of the church, and certainly for two centuries before St. Benedict had been laid to rest on the heights of Monte Cassino; but before the days of the great legislator the ever varying discipline, and, above all, the lack of any strict bond between the monk and his monastery, had given rise to many irregularities. But with the advent of St. Benedict's rule, all that was changed. The duties of monks were clearly laid down, the order of divine service minutely prescribed, labour of every kind—manual and intellectual—enjoined on all, provision made for varying circumstances of place and climate in the details of food and clothing; and a large-mindedness and liberty of spirit inspired into the whole conception of the religious life, which has caused the rule of St. Benedict to be as fertile of great results in the nineteenth as in the earlier centuries of its propagation. But that was not all. Large communities were to be found before the days of St. Benedict; saints had founded them, and had legislated for them, but the work had not been lasting. In them, as in St. Benedict's monasteries, obedience under vow, renunciation of personal and private property, and the obligation of celibacy, had been recognised and honoured; but still there was something wanting to give permanence to the monastic institute. This was what St. Benedict provided when he introduced his great reform, by requiring of all who

joined him a vow of perseverance, of "stability,"[2] which bound the monk to his community and the community to the monk till the bond was broken by death. Thus, then, by a change, apparently so slight, so unimportant, was the monastic life put on a new and different footing; thus was a principle introduced into the religious world which was recognised till the founding of the friars in the 13th century. *Stability*—the life-long connection with the home of his religious profession—was the first principle not alone of all who professed the rule of St. Benedict, but of the various orders or congregations of regular canons which sprang up between the palmy days of monasticism and the era of the friars.[3]

The Rule of St. Benedict, widespread though it became, seems never to have contemplated any thing in the nature of a congregation or "order," as the word is now used; it was written for monasteries separate and independent one of another. In the saint's mind apparently each monastery was to be a little kingdom, complete within itself; in government monarchical, being ruled by an abbot whose office was life-long, but whose authority was tempered by such safeguards as the counsel of the brethren (of all in important matters, of the seniors in lesser) should devise. Each several community thus constituted had no necessary connexion with others, even of the same institute; no relations (except in extreme cases specified in the rule) save those of

[2] "Votum stabilitatis religiosæ benedictinæ est solennis promissio, libere "Deo facta perseverandi in observantia regulari in loco professionis secundum "Regulam S. Benedicti." *Cf. Compendium Asceseos Benedictinæ*, ii, p. 86, § 122. Posonii, 1852.

[3] One of the most curious of forgotten books treating of this subject is entitled: Epistolæ apologeticæ pro ordine S. Benedicti. Defenduntur hic etiam obiter inclytus status Petrinus; ordo Can. Reg. S. Aug., Cisterciensis, Præmonstratensis reliquique stabilitatem profitentes. R. D. P. Bernardi Pezii; edidit R. D P. Mellitus Oratius ejusdem ordinis theologus. Campoduni, 1715.

charity and courtesy with the monasteries around. In the beginning the external authority, which in later times was reserved to the Pope or entrusted to the general chapter of the order, lay in the hands of the bishop of the diocese in which the monastery was situate. The earlier Benedictine monasteries were thus strictly diocesan institutions; they were of the locality, local; the monastic life was a phase of the Christian life, safeguarded by the same authority as that which governed the rest of Christendom. Exemption from episcopal visitation, a privilege much sought for in after years, came at length to be the common law as regards monastic communities of the older orders. The question is an involved one, and must not detain us. The *pros* and *cons* of exemption have been hotly debated; much of the piquancy of the monastic chronicles turns on this subject. Here we need only say that one result of the policy of the Holy See in granting such exemptions was seen at the Reformation, in the dogged unwillingness of the monks of the greater abbeys to throw off their allegiance to the head of Christendom and to take upon them instead the heavy yoke of Henry VIII and his nominees in the English episcopate.

But to return to Penwortham. That it was never raised to higher rank than that of a priory, nor ever became an independent house, was owing in part perhaps to the slenderness of its endowments, in part to the unwillingness of the brethren there to cut themselves off from their mother house of Evesham. Where the monks of a dependent cell were bent on freeing their house from its allegiance to some distant community, they generally found means of doing so, as we find in the cases of Binham and Wymundham, once subject to St. Alban's; but for the most part the advantages of incorporation with an old and honoured house, and

the ties of that *religio loci* which bound the monks to the home of their early choice and profession, outweighed the somewhat unsubstantial privilege of managing their own affairs without let or hindrance. And in the case of priories dependent on "exempt" monasteries like Evesham, the choice between obedience to their abbot and obedience to the diocesan was one which, human nature being what it is, the monks could have made but in one way. So Penwortham and Evesham were never parted; and their interests could scarce have clashed. To the Worcestershire abbey its Lancashire cell proved convenient in many ways; it kept alive that connexion with the north which had begun not many years before in the restoration of the abbeys of Whitby, Lastingham, Wearmouth, and Jarrow; it had its uses as a source of income,[4] as a new recruiting ground, as a place of change for the sick or ailing, occasionally too as a convenient provision for such impracticable people as ex-abbot Roger Norreys, on his expulsion from the monastery of Evesham by the papal legate in 1213. It was useful, too, in other ways: doubtless some of its monks, who had grown accustomed to the more trying climate of our northern shire, were among the brethren of Evesham who went to Denmark in 1174 to found the monastery of Odensee; its value as a training ground for future prelates was shown in the case of Prior Thomas, of Gloucester, who was taken thence to govern Evesham, where he was abbot from 1243 to 1255. Nor were the advantages all on one side; the monks who administered the Penwortham property were doubtless men of some experience, pioneers perhaps who brought into Lancashire the more

4 Penwortham supplied the Evesham refectory annually with "una summa "salmonis et dua millia allecium." Salmon must be scarce in the Ribble now-a-days.

advanced methods of farming which they had learnt in the favoured valley of the Severn. Through Penwortham and similar places the language, the ideas, the manners, of one district made their influence felt in distant parts, Worcestershire and northern England were drawn closer together in feeling and interests; narrowness and provincialism no longer ruled supreme.

There is another thing to be said about Penwortham. Among the gifts bestowed upon it were the churches of St. Mary, at Penwortham itself; St. Andrew's, at Leyland; St. Cuthbert's, at North Meols; with the chapels of Meols and Farington. I should not have drawn attention to this had not a facile and interesting writer of our own times[5] denounced the impropriation of churches to religious houses as a grave scandal. The system, like most systems, was, of course, liable to abuse, but on the whole I suppose there was no more intrinsic wickedness in it in the middle ages than there is now; and it has yet to be proved that the impropriated churches fared worse at the hands of the monasteries than do those which are now-a-days assigned to colleges or universities. "The monks build churches!" exclaims Dr. Jessop; "I could not from my own "knowledge bring forward a single instance in all "the history of England of a monastery contri- "buting a shilling of money or a load of stone for "the repair, let alone the erection, of any parish "church in the land." This is a little too bad, if we are to rely on the statements of those who have treated of these things. I know not how the case stands with the churches belonging to our Lancashire houses; but elsewhere throughout England there is clear and ample proof of the care which the monks extended to the parish churches assigned

5 Rev. Augustus Jessop, D.D., *The Coming of the Friars and other Historic Essays.* London, 1889, pp. 157, &c.

to them. I cannot allow Dr. Jessop's words to pass without a protest, though I must content myself here with giving, in a note, some few cases in point, which have come under my notice in the last few weeks.[6]

A more recent remark of Dr. Jessop's also demands some notice. Lecturing at the Royal Institution, he said that "St. Benedict had one "weakness. He looked with suspicion upon culture, "regarding it as mischievous, and discouraged

6 Consult, for instance, *An account of the churches in the division of Holland, in the county of Lincoln.* Boston: Morton, 1843. "The abbot of "Croyland erected a church at *Whaplode*, which is unquestionably the earliest "of the existing fen churches." *Gedney:* according to Stukeley, "This "church was built by the abbots of Croyland, who had a stately house on "the north side of it and vast possessions in the parish." St. Guthlac's, at *Fishtoft*, was another church built by the monks of Croyland. One of the four *Long Sutton* churches was built by the abbot of St. Mary's, York, in emulation of the work of his Croyland neighbours. Of *Cowbit* we read that it was repaired by Thomas de Multon, prior of Spalding, whose arms appear also in the parish church of Moulton. Of SS. Mary and Nicholas at Spalding it is written: "The building of this church is said to have been commenced "by a prior of Spalding monastery, named William de Littleport, in the latter "part of the 13th century." Speaking of Heckington Church, in the same county, Murray's *Handbook* says: "The reason for the astonishing magnifi- "cence of this church, in a place which never was more than a village, is "that in 1345 the great abbey of Bardney, which already possessed a chantry "here, obtained a royal license to appropriate the church to its own use. The "work was at once begun," &c. Of Southwold, in Suffolk, "a chapel was first "erected here in the reign of King John, by the monks of Thetford." (*Excursions in the county of Suffolk*, 1819, vol. ii, p. 127.) Elsewhere it is the same story. Abbot Bere, of Glastonbury, was proverbially a builder of churches (see Digby's *Mores Catholici*, iii, 458); Abbot Robert, of St. Edmunsbury, built the tower of Ixworth Church, Suffolk, in 1470; an abbot of Westminster built the chancel of St. Margaret's (see Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. Morley, 1890); the completion of the parish church of St. Eustace, at Tavistock, Devon, "is assigned to abbot Culling, A.D. 1384, the "tower having been begun by his predecessor" (*Handbook to Devon, &c.*); the canons of Cirencester bore the greater part of the costs of the parish church (Browne Willis, *History of Abbeys*); thirty abbots or priors contributed to the building of St. Mary's Church, Cambridge (*Documents from MS. Library* cccc, p. 8. London: Parker, 1838). The chancel of the church of St. Nicholas, Great Bookham, Surrey, was built by abbot Rutherwyke, of Chertsey, in 1341, as appears from an inscription cut deeply upon a stone in the east wall:—

"Hæc abbate fuerat constructa Johanne
De Rutherwyke, decus ob sancti Nicolai,
Anno milleno triceno bisque viceno
Primo, Christus ei paret hinc sedem requiei."

The chancel resembles that of Egham, rebuilt by the same abbot, where is also an inscription in precisely similar characters.

"learning." Can the learned doctor ever have read St. Benedict's rule? Here are a few passages for his consideration. "Lectiones sacras libenter "audire," is one of the "Instruments of good "works," in cap. iv. Public reading during meal time and before compline, is provided for in cap. xxxviii and cap. xlii. The times for study and manual labour are assigned in cap. xlviii. Three or four hours' daily reading is enjoined on all; in certain seasons the time is prolonged; the hours devoted by some to manual labour must be given to intellectual work if circumstances require it. Sunday was to be devoted to study. Almost from the beginning of the Benedictine order the manual work for the lettered brethren took the form of writing and copying manuscripts. "Learning," then, was amply provided for, and the whole tendency of the summary of Christian life and duty embodied in the rule was to encourage the highest type of real "culture" in all who embraced the monastic life.

II.—Lancaster, *alien Priory of St. Mary.*

The next house to be noticed is the little priory of St. Mary at Lancaster, founded by Roger, Earl of Poitiers, in 1094. Like Penwortham, it was a dependent priory; for the prior and five monks—who (with three priests, two clerks, and servants) formed the establishment—were to be drawn from the Norman abbey of St. Martin de Seez. It thus affords us an instance of the practice, so common during the years of French supremacy in England, of planting colonies of French monks up and down the country, on lands which had been granted to them by the conquerors. The system must have worked fairly well—from a French point of view—else it had not been so widely followed; what was

thought of it among Englishmen when, three centuries later, foreign ties and influences had practically ceased, is shown in the wholesale suppression of these "Priories alien." Some indeed had, before the beginning of the 15th century, been made "denizen," and thrown off their subjection to continental abbeys, thus escaping the fate which befel so many of the smaller houses. The Priory of Lancaster, after an existence of three hundred and twenty years, was among the suppressed houses. Little is known of its history; its possessions were considerable, including the gift of eleven churches, Lancaster, Preston and Bolton vicarages among them; and one at least of its priors, Peter, attained some distinction as abbot of Seez, to which post he was elected in 1367.

When the priory was closed, its possessions went for the most part to the newly-founded monastery of Syon, in Middlesex, of the order of St. Bridget.

III.—Furness Abbey, 1127.

With the foundation of the great abbey of Furness, in 1127, Lancashire monasticism enters on a new phase. The two earlier monasteries were but poorly endowed, and never rose to great distinction; but the house whose history we have now to glance at soon became a great religious centre, and the parent of eight other abbeys of considerable note. The Norman abbey of Savigni, established in 1112 by Vitalis, a disciple of Blessed Robert of Arbrissel, had acquired great fame by the strictness with which the rule of St. Benedict was therein observed, and by the excellent government of its successive abbots. A rapid increase in the number of its monks and the frequent requests for colonies for the foundation of new houses, led to the wide extension of the influence and observ-

ances of Savigni. But with that governmental instinct which distinguished the Normans, the abbots of Savigni continued to claim and to exercise a strict—and at times oppressive—authority over the colonies which their house sent forth. Something of the same kind had already been seen among the cells of the English abbeys, but the greater numbers and wider diffusion of the colonies of Savigni gave an importance and dignity to the head of that monastery which was unknown to our native houses. With the Norman nobility Savigni enjoyed great favour; through their means, some thirty monasteries in France and in England sprung into existence, the fourth in order of foundation being the abbey of Furness.[7]

The discipline of Savigni, like that of Citeaux, differed in many points from that of the older monasteries; in greater simplicity of diet, rougher clothing, a less splendid ritual, and a less ornate architecture, the contrast was evident to all. In the daily work, too, a change was made, for the most part, from the sedentary and literary work of the existing cloisters to the rougher manual labour which was so remarkable a feature of the Cistercian revival. Under the influence of this movement, Furness was founded, only fifteen years after the beginnings of Savigni, and soon in turn grew so strong in numbers that it was able to send out colony after colony in the first sixty years of its history. It had been scarcely established seven years when the first attempt was made. A party of the brethren started for Calder, in Cumberland; began a monastery, lost courage, and made their way back to Furness. The abbot received them coldly, bade them go forth once more; so forth they went, and this time

7 Buckfast Abbey, in Devonshire—lately restored by a colony of French Benedictines—belonged to the congregation of Savigni.

took the road to Yorkshire. They fixed their tents in the vale of Mowbray, near Oswaldkirk, but were obliged to move about from place to place, before finally settling down at Byland.

That same year,[8] 1134, a second party went forth, crossed over to the Isle of Man, and founded the abbey of Rushin, and thus began that close connexion between Furness and Manxland which lasted till the general suppression.[9]

The year 1148 was memorable in Furness annals for two events: the first, of domestic interest merely, was the going-out of its third colony to establish the abbey of Swineshead in Lincolnshire; the other event had more wide-reaching effects.

While Savigni had been growing, a yet greater increase and development on similar lines had been taking place at Citeaux. Both movements had been marked by a return to the greater strictness, simplicity, seclusion, and manual labour of the primitive Benedictines; in both it became the rule for each new foundation to be made a self-subsisting institution, receiving its own novices, and being governed by its own abbot; in both had an attempt been made to bind together into one congregation the houses of the new observance; in both were large numbers of lay brethren to be found sharing

8 The date seems a little uncertain. A MS. in the British Museum (Vitellius C., ix., fol. 225) gives the names and dates of the "daughters" of Furness: "Hæ sunt filiæ Fournesii—(1) Mon. de Caldra [moved to Byland] "fund^m. est 1134; (2) de Swinsheved A.D. 1148; (3) de Castro Dei in Hi- "bernia (*Hibernicé*, Fermoy), 1170; (4) de Insula (*i.e.*, Ines), ibidem, 1180; "(5) de Sancta Cruce ibidem (*Hibernicé*, Wethirlughan), 1180; (6) de Petra "fertili ibidem (*Hibernicé*, Corkemruth=Corcumruadh), 1197; (7) de Russin "in Mannia [Rushin, Isle of Man], 1238; (8) de Surio in Hibernia (*Hibernicé*, "Yneslughnaght), 1240."

9 The monks of Furness enjoyed a privilege—common enough among the Benedictines, but, so far as I am aware, unique among the Cistercians—of electing a bishop for the Manx see. A bull of Innocent IV. to the abbot and convent of Furness confirms their right:—"Ad quos solummodo jus eligendi "episcopum in ecclesia Cathedrali de Mannia pertineat" (1244, Feb. 15). See Potthast's *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Berolini, 1879.

in the labours of the monks. But the influence of St. Bernard, and the consequent multiplication of monks and monasteries of Cistercian observance, gave such an impetus to the movement that even Savigni paled before it. The fourth abbot of that house was easily persuaded by St. Bernard to throw in his lot with theirs, and in 1148, five years before St. Bernard's death, Savigni and its daughter houses were affiliated to Clairvaux. But the abbot of Savigni had not reckoned on the strenuous opposition which this abandonment of the old lines was to meet with in Lancashire. The fourth abbot of Furness—Peter of York—and his monks would not acquiesce in what their over-lord had done; Savigni insisted; Abbot Peter appealed to the Holy See, and went in person to Rome to plead his cause before Pope Eugene III. He won his case and set out on his homeward journey. Whether to revisit his old friends at Savigni, or to flourish his exemption in their faces—anyhow, unwisely—he paid a visit to his late suzerain, the abbot thereof. His reception was the reverse of cordial: in fact he was put into prison and forced to resign his abbacy.

Warned by his fate, John de Caunsfield, his successor at Furness, made his peace with Savigni, and the Lancashire abbey and its daughter houses were henceforth numbered among the Cistercians. Tilling the soil, like the peasants around them, clearing the forests, draining the marshes, sowing and reaping, planting and pruning,—so the life went on. In 1188 another colony left the peaceful vale of Nightshade, wandered first to Nether Wyersdale, and at last settled down at Wotheny, near Limerick.

Our last glimpse of Furness, three hundred and fifty years later, shows us what changes time had

wrought; and how the course of years had brought the Cistercians into a position scarcely differing from that of the older monasteries, to reform whose mode of life they had been called into existence. Study and education had come to be recognised as the main duties of the White, as they were of the Black, Benedictines; and the Free School and the Song School of Furness Abbey were the witnesses of the change which had come upon the children of St. Stephen and St. Bernard.

IV.—Kershall Cell, *near Manchester*, 1184.

The priory of Kershall, a cell to the Cluniac house of Lenton, by Nottingham, need not detain us long. In itself it presents but few features of interest, but in its connexion with the Cluniac system it gives me an opportunity of saying a few words on a development of Benedictine life which presents many points of contrast with the Cistercian movement already touched upon. In order of time Cluny preceded Citeaux; and in its earlier days, at least, its observance of the rule of St. Benedict was not less strict. But the Cluniacs were marked off from the Cistercians more radically than by their retention of the black habit of the original Benedictine monks. Both Cluny and Citeaux aimed at the association of their affiliated houses into one corporate body or congregation; but while the Cistercian practice was to allow each house an independent existence as a separate abbey, the Cluniac ideal was that of centralisation. It is true that some few houses which joined the Cluniac movement retained their title of abbey; but for the most part all Cluny foundations were, at least originally, priories; and the lord abbot of Cluny was the superior general of the hundreds of com-

munities and thousands of monks under his rule; nay, no monk could be professed among them save in the great abbey church of Cluny itself, or at the hands of the abbot or his representative. The system was marked by the good and evil results which centralisation necessarily brings with it. In England, at any rate, it was found to work unsatisfactorily when the relations between this country and France grew strained; and several Cluniac monasteries—Lenton, the parent house of Kershall, among them—made themselves "denizen," and henceforth were ranked among the houses, and sent their representatives to the general chapters, of the English Benedictines.[10]

V.—Cartmel Priory, 1188.

VI.—Conishead Priory, 1189.

VII.—Burscough Priory, 1199.

Meantime, a new religious movement was on foot. The monastic orders, extending on every side, growing in numbers, wealth, and influence, were yet for the most part only indirectly concerned with matters external to their own walls. Within their precincts, indeed, life was busy enough—what with the frequent and solemn services in their

[10] See "Les Monastéres de l'ordre de Cluny du XIII au XV siècle," in the *Revue Bénédictine*, March, 1893. Lewes Priory, the principal Cluniac foundation in England, was, with its five dependencies, naturalised in 1351. The genealogy of the Cluniac houses may be of interest:—

From Cluny sprang Lewes, Lenton, Montacute, and Thetford. From Lewes—Castleacre, Stanesgate, Clifford, Horton, Prittlewell, and Farley. From Castleacre—Bromholme, Mendham, Flusham, and Normannesberch. From Lenton—Roche and Kersall. From Montacute—Careswell, Holme, S. Caroc, and Malpas. From Thetford—Wangford and Herkele.

The great house of La Charité sur Loire was the mother house of Wenlock, Bermondsey, Northampton, and Pontefract. Wenlock in turn founded Dudley, Preme, St. Helens, and Paisley. From Paisley was founded Crossraguel. The Devonshire priories of Barnstaple, St. Clair, and St. James, at Exeter, were colonised from St. Martin des Champs, at Paris.

churches, the work of teaching going on in school and cloister, the labour of study and the transcription of books, the duties of hospitality, and the management of their estates, the monks must have had but little time to spare. Before the eleventh century the attractiveness and power of community life had been practically confined to the monks; the new movement, which resulted in the foundation of the canons regular of St. Augustine, was to extend those advantages to priests, whose duties were primarily to the faithful in the world. Colleges of secular canons had long been known; and the idea embodied in the work of Ivo of Chartres, as in the earlier efforts of St. Chrodegang of Metz, was to combine the main features of monastic observance with the due fulfilment of the more public duties of the ministry. The canons regular then came in to bridge over the gulf between the monks and the secular clergy, "medium genus;" Erasmus calls them "inter monachos et canonicos quos "sæculares appellant." [11]

From the priory of SS. Julian and Botulph in Colchester, their first and principal[12] house in England, founded in 1105 (or 1107), the institute, aided by the influence of St. Anselm and the good character of the canons themselves, spread itself all over the country, till their monasteries numbered 175 in England and Wales.

Bound by the vow of stability to their respective houses, the canons regular imitated the Benedictines also in the free system of government which prevailed among them; their local and diocesan character rendered the centralisation of Cluny or Citeaux foreign to their ideal. Besides their mode-

[11] Peregrinatio Religionis ergo.

[12] Pope Pascal II decreed that it was to rank first among the English houses of canons.

ration [13] in fasting and divine psalmody, they were still further marked off from the monks by their devotedness to preaching, confessing, and baptising,[14] as well as by their readiness to accept the care of such parishes and public chapels as might be entrusted to their management.

Contemporary writers are loud in their praise. A Benedictine of Canterbury contrasts their life with that of his own brethren and of the Cistercians, and points out the advantages of the new institute. The canons, he tells us, were spared the long choral duties, the sharp reproofs, the stern discipline of the black monks; they were not bound to the spartan simplicity in vesture and diet of the field-working Cistercians.[15] And a chronicler of their own enlarges on the same theme in words which have been often quoted.[16]

Such were the men who were called in to people three of the Lancashire foundations of the last decade of the 12th century. The noble church of Our Lady at Cartmel still stands to tell us of the generosity and piety of William Mareschall the elder, Earl of Pembroke, its founder; Conishead, a poorer house, dedicated like the preceding to the

13 Nigellus Wireker, *Speculum Stultorum.*

14 "Quum autem huic ordini a patribus nostris dispensatio verbi Dei, predicationis officium, baptismus, reconciliatio penitentium semper credita fuit." Bull of Pascal II. 1116.

15 Nigellus Wireker, *Speculum Stultorum.*

16 The passage occurs in the "Llantony Chronicle" in the *Monasticon.* The writer is speaking of the hermits of Llantony:—"Concilio ergo inito "cujus ordinis cujusve professionis instituta arriperent, nigri monachi non "eliguntur, ne labe superfluitatis, quæ eos singulariter inficere dicitur, aliqua- "tenus notarentur: nec etiam Cistercienses, singulariter enim incedere dicuntur "et aliis religiosis parum communicare, et præterea rebus augendis cupida satis "sollicitudine inhiare. Tandem competenti quadam mediocritate subnixi, "canonici regulares fieri præeligerunt, tum quia illo adhuc tempore propter "caritatem cariores habebantur, tum quia leviori et modestiori contenti im- "pensa, tanta rerum varietate non indigeant tum quia habitus satis sit elegans, "neque nimium nitidus, neque plurimum abjectus, unde plerumque solet "superbia nutriri, vel sanctitatis ficta suscitari."—*Ib.*, vj, 130.

Blessed Virgin Mary, owed its origin to Gabriel de Pennington and William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendal. Burscough Priory, founded in honour of St. Nicholas, by Robert FitzHenry, Lord of Lathom, and enriched by divers great men of the county,[17] was the third and last of the houses held by the Austin canons in Lancashire.

That none of these houses were raised to abbatial rank was probably owing to the wishes of the founders; indeed it was a special condition of the Earl of Pembroke that the house of Cartmel should always remain a priory. A passage from the history of the Benedictine house of Walden, in Essex, brings out clearly the difference which in feudal times was understood to mark off the two grades of monasteries. Reginald, second of its priors, had procured the abbatial dignity for himself and successors, in the absence of their founder's son, Galfrid de Say. On Galfrid's return, the newly-created abbot and two of his monks went out to meet their benefactor, and to invite him to visit their church and brethren; never a word said Galfrid, but in black anger turned his back upon the monastic deputation. Mastering his temper somewhat, he so far relented as to enter the church, scowling on all around, saying no prayers, speaking to nobody. Coming at last to the door of the chapter-house, his anger found expression in words. Turning to the abbot and brethren he exclaimed, "Oh, my lord abbot, you and your monks have

[17] Burscough Priory held the weekly market on Tuesdays, at Ormskirk, by grant of Edward I. An annual fair of five days, beginning on the eve of the decollation of St. John Baptist (Aug. 29); the churches of Ormskirk, Huyton, and Flixton, various estates up and down the county at Wrightington, Chorley, Scarisbrick, Parbold, &c. In 1285 Henry de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, gave the canons "locum qui dicitur Ruddegate," on condition that a leper from his fief of Widnes should be there supported for life.

"disinherited me; for you have turned my priory "into an abbey, and rejecting me have entirely "placed yourselves under the king's power."[18] When the suppression of the religious houses was imminent, the claims of the "founders" of "priories" were constanly being urged, and sometimes not in vain, on the rapacious Tudor. The distinction is one which should be borne in mind, when we would find an explanation for the apparently humble rank which so many rich monasteries were contented to maintain.

VIII.—Cockersand Abbey, 1190.
IX.—Hornby Priory.

These two houses, of the Præmonstratensian order, show us how the ideal and system of the Canons Regular were spreading and developing. St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, had, before his promotion to the episcopate, given a new impetus to the "canonical" life, infusing into the houses founded by him a greater strictness of observance than was generally followed by the Austin canons. The Præmonstratensians, in fact, may be regarded as standing in the same relation to the main body of regular canons as the Cistercians to the Cluniacs; a greater austerity prevailed among them in the earlier days, and the external duties were more restricted.[19] The abbey of St. Mary at Cockersand, established in 1190, on the site of a priory and hospital of the black canons, was in point of annual revenue the third among the Lancashire monasteries. St. Wilfred's

[18] Qui prioratum meum in abbatiam convertistis, meque abjecto potestati regiæ omnino vos subdidistis. (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, iv, 146.)

[19] Founded in 1120, by St. Norbert, the Præmonstratensians settled in England in 1140, and founded in all thirty-five houses.

Priory at Hornby was a less important house, consisting of a prior and three canons, dependent on the Leicestershire abbey of Croxton.[20]

Cartmel, Conishead, and Burscough, of the black or Austin canons; Cockersand and Hornby, of the Præmonstratensian or white canons, complete the list of canonical establishments in the county. The movement which gave rise to them seems to have soon spent itself. Ten or twelve years at most saw the foundation of all the five houses just named; and the stream of benefactions for the further provision for religious life in this part of England either flowed back into old channels, and gave rise to the Benedictine priories of Lytham and Upholland, or, caught by the movement of the 13th century, brought Lancashire under the influence of the Friars.

X.—Lytham, 1199. *(Dugdale*, iv, 281.)

The priory of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert had its origin in the donation which Richard FitzRoger made, in 1199, of all his lands in Lytham, with the church there,[21] to the black monks of the Cathedral Priory of Durham. There is little to be said about this foundation, interesting from our present point of view only as bringing to bear on the neighbourhood the influences of the lordly minster on the Wear. The Lytham monks seem to have maintained their close connexion with Durham till 1443, in which year the house secured a larger measure of autonomy than it had previously possessed. Henceforth—by direction of Pope Eugene IV, and

[20] But the independent surrender of Hornby seems to show that at the end it was a distinct corporation.

[21] The church of Lytelbourn was also bestowed on them.

with consent of Henry VI—its priors were to be perpetual and no longer removable at the goodwill and pleasure of the authorities at Durham.

XI.—Dominican Friary, *Lancaster.*
XII.—Franciscan Friary, *Preston.*
XIII.—Austin Friary, *Warrington.*

I have grouped the three[22] houses of Friars together, because first of all there is very little known of their history, and secondly because their general aims and principles were more or less identical. The Dominicans—otherwise known as the Black or Preaching Friars—were provided with a convent in Lancaster by Sir Hugh Harrington in 1250; the Friars Minor, or Franciscans, owed their Preston house to the goodwill of a Mr. Preston, of the town, and Henry, Earl of Lancaster, son of King Henry III. Among their benefactors was Sir Robert Holland (founder, as we shall see by and bye, of the Benedictine monastery at Upholland), who was buried in their church,[23] among "divers of "the Shirburnes and Daltons, gentlemen." The Austin Friars of Warrington seem to have been indebted to the Boteler family for their establishment in that town.

Now, as already mentioned, the institution of the friars differed radically from any form of religious life which had been seen in the western Church, at least since the days of St. Benedict. In almost every point we find them bringing in new ideas, new principles, which marked them off in a most striking manner from the older orders. Monks and

[22] There was possibly a fourth, of Franciscans, at Lancaster.

[23] *Monasticon*, vi, 1513. *Hist. Soc.*, vol. xli, p. 175, for Warrington; *Ibid.*, xli, p. 127, Burscough.

regular canons were allowed to possess property—not individually, it is true, but in their corporate capacity; the friars, in early times at least, renounced even this, and lived on the alms which were offered them, or which they begged from door to door. The monks and canons regular of divers orders were bound by strict obligation to their respective monasteries,—the friar had no local ties; for him "the province" took the place of the cloister—the whole of Christendom was his home. Freed from the obligations of the solemn choral observance of the greater abbeys, unhampered by the cares of property, detached from mere parochial duties and local interests, the friars were at liberty to throw all their energies into their work of preaching or teaching. Thus they supplied the long-felt want of a body of men ready to come to the aid at all times of bishop and priest; and in preaching the gospel to the poor, or infusing new life and new ideas into the Universities, in bringing England more into touch with the Continent, their influence was entirely beneficial.

It was not only in their external organisation and work that the Friars were marked off from the orders which preceded them; the internal conception of their state and of their obligations was widely different. Some of the points of difference have been just spoken of. Another there is to which allusion must be made if we would understand the essential difference between monk and friar. In the Benedictine life not only was the monastery of profession everything to a monk, and its walls, as a rule, his life-long home; but the whole theory of his religious life and the position held by his superior towards him was, if I mistake not, utterly unlike what was to be found among the friars. With the monk the "monastery" was

everything; with the friar it was the "order." Of religious institutes in England, the Benedictine was clearly the oldest, but "order" in the modern sense, in the sense of the friars, it certainly was not. In the old Benedictine's mouth, "order" meant the rule of life, the daily round of duties, the "order" of liturgical and monastic observance; with the Cluniacs and Cistercians it came to mean the whole body of monasteries governed from Cluny or Citeaux, in which the daily life was ordered as in those great sanctuaries; but among the friars, the "mendicants," the word came to be used to designate the whole wide-scattered fraternity, children of St. Dominic or St. Francis, whose only bond of unity was the unity of the strictly organised centralisation which those saints had established in their respective families. The old Benedictine idea, that each monastery was a distinct corporate entity, found no place in the ethics of the mendicant orders; a convent of friars was not a "family," as were the brethren of the old abbeys; the very function of the ruler of the house was changed in the 13th century institutes, and the abbot, the father, with his direct and intimate and paternal relations to his monks, his life-long responsibility before God and the Church, for the souls and salvation of each of his children, gave place to a "superior" (a prior, or a vicar, or guardian) who ruled with a divided responsibility; not as of old, in his own right, so to say, and by the choice of his brethren, but as representing rather the authority of the "order" and its absent general. Both systems were good; for both was there room in the Christian church; and that the new did not blind men to the merits and advantages of the old is shown by the foundation, even after the coming of the friars, of monasteries of the older orders, as

for instance, here in Lancashire, of the Priory of Upholland. But, first, some notice must be given of the important Abbey of Whalley.

XIV.—Whalley Abbey, 1296.

This great Cistercian establishment, second only to Furness in dignity and wealth, was transferred to Lancashire from Stanlaw in Cheshire in 1296. The abbey of Stanlaw (Locus Sancti Benedicti), founded in 1175, on the left bank of the Mersey, between Eastham and Runcorn, had a chequered existence; its low-lying site was liable to the inrush of the Mersey floods; in 1287 the tower of its church fell to the ground, half-ruining the adjacent buildings; two years later a disastrous fire destroyed the greater part of the monastery. Wearied out by these constant reverses, the community determined to look out for a new abode, and finally decided on fixing themselves on their Lancashire property at Whalley.

"There was at Whalley," writes one of its abbots,[24] "a certain parish church, built in honour "of all saints, in the cemetery of which church "were certain stone crosses there erected, and "called by the people the crosses of Blessed Au-"gustine." Close by the site thus connected in local legend with the preaching of England's apostle, the wandering monks of Stanlaw settled down, leaving, however, a few of their brethren behind—a rare event in Cistercian annals—to maintain divine service in their half-ruined minster. But it seemed for some years as if the brethren were to find no fixed home in Whalley; the abbot and monks of Sawley, eight miles away, in the

[24] John Lyndelay, 1347—*De Statu Blagborneshire.*

adjoining county of Yorkshire, objected to a large community of their Cistercian brethren settling so near them, and it was only after a good deal of discussion, and not till the authority of the Pope had been invoked, that the Stanlaw monks felt themselves secure. As late as 1316, owing to their disputes with Sawley, and their numerous discomforts, they seriously entertained the idea of building an abbey at Toxteth, near Liverpool, and obtained the royal sanction of Edward II. for the purpose; but the idea was never carried out, and Whalley Abbey soon took its place among the great religious foundations of the country.

XV.—Upholland Priory. (*Monasticon*, iv, 409.)

We have now arrived at the latest of the pre-reformation monasteries of Lancashire, the Benedictine priory of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at Upholland, near Wigan. Sir Robert de Holland had established a college of secular canons, under the government of a dean, on his Upholland estate; but the loneliness of the spot proved too great, and the canons separated. The founder then resolved on another course, and determined to secure the permanence of his work by obtaining a colony of Benedictine monks to take the place left vacant by the canons. The site, too, was recognised as being fitter for monks than for seculars, and after various negociations, and with the approval of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and his two chapters, the place was handed over to the monks.[25] Before

[25] A somewhat similar history is given by Aubertus Miræus in the *Origines Benedictinæ*, Cologne, 1614. cap. xciv, in relating the story of the short-lived abbey of Halsberg, near Hattem, four miles from Daventer, a house formerly possessed by the Brothers of Common Life. "Quod quidem cœnobium "Henrico Bavaro Ultrajactensi episcopo consentiente, a Carolo Egmundano "Geldriæ duce bellicosissimo, et catholicæ religionis augendæ atque adversus

the invasion of the collieries, which have in recent years sprung up all around, Upholland must have been a beautiful spot, and well adapted for its sacred purpose as a place of prayer, study, and retirement.[26] There on a hill-side, overlooking a wide expanse of wood and water, was founded the priory of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the latest in date of foundation of any monastery of black monks in England. Unfortunately, we have but little to guide us as to the early history of the house; we are even in ignorance of the name of the monastery from which the first monks were drawn. But as Sir Robert de Holland's petition to the Bishop of Lichfield was drawn up at Pontefract (Feb. 2, 1318), and the first prior bore the name of Thomas de Doncaster, it seems probable that the colony came from some religious house in Yorkshire. The churches of Childwall in Lancashire and Whitwick in Leicestershire were impropriated to the new foundation.

With Upholland the list of monastic foundations in Lancashire is brought to an end. For the next two hundred and twenty years the houses, great and small, which we have been considering carried on, in peace and quiet for the most part, their

"hæreses id temporis exsurgentes *stabiliendæ studiosissimo*, anno 1525 die 7 "Maii in monasterium ordinis S. Benedicti est commutatum. Abbas vero "ejus loci primus anno eodem 13 die mensis Maii electus est Paulus Beccensis "presbyter et Benedictini instituti vetus assecla, monachis aliquot aliunde "evocatis. Porro fratres Hieronymiani cum in dicta caussa monasterio sese "pulsos quærerentur defuncto Carolo duce postliminio pristinum in locum sunt "restituti."

[26] Compare the account of Lantony in the *Monasticon*, vi. 129. "Stat "namque inibi in valle profunda, ecclesia conventualis præ omnibus fere Brit-"taniarum cœnobiis perfectæ religioni magis accommoda, tanto contemplativæ "quieti et secretiore cum omnipotente confabulatione yconea quanto popu-"laribus strepitibus et tumultuosis clamoribus inaccessa. Non denique hic "querulæ oppressorum audiuntur calumpniæ; non protervæ litigantium "ponderant insaniæ, sed pax certa, quies secura, karitas firma ita sanctam "religionem invitant, sicut omnimodam dissolutionem dissuadent."

beneficent and useful work. Neither among the Friars, with their public ministry and their international character, nor among the Cistercians of Furness and Whalley, with their industries and agriculture, nor among the Regular Canons, Augustinian and Premonstratensian, nor among the Benedictines, with their large place in the national history, their local ties and their varied work,—was there found, when the end was at hand, anything to warrant their wholesale suppression. The tale of that suppression has recently been put before us,[27] not as told in the writings of prejudiced partizans or embittered enemies, but in the clear light of contemporary documents, in the plain, unbiassed words of historical verity.

The Lancashire monasteries bore their share in the misfortunes of the Reformation period, and no small share it was. The religious houses of the county were not swept away, till two of the monks of Furness had suffered imprisonment for their fidelity to the old faith; till the Abbot of Whalley and two of his monks had laid down their lives in the same cause; till Kershall had seen its Superior, the Prior of Lenton, and some of his monks, numbered among the martyrs; till four of the Canons of Cartmell were enrolled among the victims of Henry's tyranny.

And when, with England's restoration to catholic unity under Queen Mary, an attempt was made to restore some of the ruined minsters of the land, Lancashire was not unrepresented. It was through the efforts of Dom John Feckenham, monk of Evesham, the mother house of Penwortham, that the royal abbey of St. Peter at Westminster was re-established; and when Westminster had been a

27 *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, 2 vols.; by the Very Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. London: Hodges.

second time suppressed, and its venerable abbot was a prisoner for the faith of his fathers in the castle of Wisbeach, the first to ask for the habit of St. Benedict at his hands was the venerable John Thulis, a native of Upholland.

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL IMPLEMENTS FOUND ON THE MEOLS SHORE.

By Charles Potter.

Read 11th February, 1892.

IN a former volume of the Society's Transactions (vol. xl. (N.S. 4), p. 143), there will be found a paper on the "Antiquities of the Meols Shore," in which I endeavoured, from implements of husbandry and artizans' tools found there, to point out some of the occupations of the early dwellers in the ancient settlement of Great Meols, on the Cheshire coast. By the kindness of the Council, I am now enabled to bring to the notice of the members illustrations and descriptions of a few more specimens, comprising agricultural and mechanical implements from my collection, the whole having been obtained during the last thirty years from the same neighbourhood. I propose, in future volumes, if agreeable to the members, to bring to their notice other specimens of articles of domestic use, ornaments, arms, &c., also from my collection.

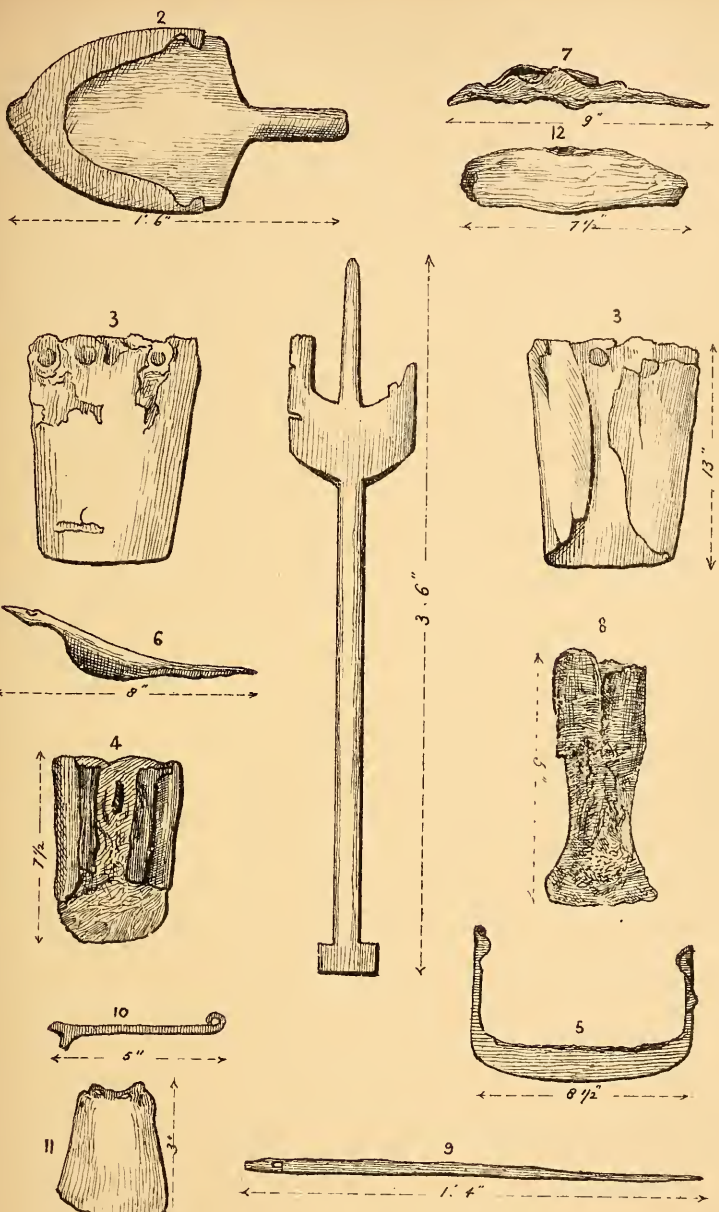
Referring to the accompanying illustrations it will be seen that one sheet (Plate A) gives 12 figures of implements used in agricultural occupations, and the other (Plate B) illustrates 10 mechanical tools. These I shall now endeavour to describe.

Plate A.—Agricultural Implements.

Fig. 1. A digging fork, cut from oak in one solid piece. The middle tine measures 9 inches, and appears to be little short of the original length, the outer tines are broken. The entire length of the fork, as shown in the plate, is 42 in.; the shoulder from which the tines are cut is $7\frac{2}{10}$ in. in its greatest breadth. I had the pleasure of shewing this fork to Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, on the day that I secured it. He informed me that there was in the British Museum the remains of a similar fork, which was found embedded with the worked flints of the stone age. Although I have not seen one, I have been informed, on trustworthy authority, that forks of this description, cut in one piece from the solid oak, are at present in use on the light reclaimed bog soils of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Ireland, where they are preferred to iron and steel forks, as being less liable to damage the potatoes in lifting them.

Fig. 2. The blade of a spade with a portion of the handle remaining. This blade has, like the fork already mentioned, been cut from solid oak.

The edge of the oak blade is shod with a broad wrought iron plate, or casing, to improve its cutting properties and act as a protection to the wood when being used amongst stones or other hard substances. The oak blade is let into a deep



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS FOUND ON THE MEOLS SHORE

FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR CHARLES POTTER

groove in the iron blade or shoe, and, as there is no rivet or other attachment for fastening the iron to the wood, it would seem that after having been closely and carefully fitted, the iron must have been made red hot, then driven on to the dry wood, and plunged into cold water, thus causing the iron to contract and bind firmly to the wood. It will be seen that the iron plate is notched on each side near the top, while on the back plate are similar notches. These notches would help to retain the iron on the wood. The length of the blade, including the shoe, is 12 in., the greatest breadth $9\frac{8}{10}$ in. I am told that similar spades were in use a few years ago in the Highlands of Scotland.

Some twenty-five years since I saw a number of men and women who had arrived in Liverpool from Hull; every man either carried or had in his baggage a spade cut from the solid wood, and shod with iron, similar to the Cheshire specimen. The men were dressed entirely in leather from head to foot, some of them wearing leather aprons in addition. The Liverpool Swedish interpreter told me that they were miners and iron workers, and that they were going to America to pursue that employment. He further told me that they had come from some remote district of Sweden, and that they spoke a *patois* of which he hardly understood a word. Fortunately there was one man with them who could in addition speak the ordinary Swedish language, and thus act as interpreter.

Fig. 3. The iron parts of a spade, which was originally a wooden spade sheathed with iron. This implement was of a very unusual construction, as we learn from a close examination of what remains of it. Evidently it once consisted of a spade with a wooden handle, from which, it would seem,

there issued two wooden blades, one behind the other, that to the front being much broader and larger than the smaller blade behind. These two wooden blades being separated by a double plate of iron, attached to another double iron plate at the back of the spade which enclosed the smaller wooden blade, and, being turned over at the sides, overlapped the larger one and was countersunk into it. Rivets attached the iron of the smaller blade together. The handle, though in the centre of the smaller wooden blade, was not in the centre of the larger one nor of the iron rivets which extended to the right, to allow the foot of the person using the spade to be conveniently placed upon the iron shoulder. The iron is welded together at the sides and blade of the spade to give it solidity and strength.

The measurements are as follows :—The smaller under blade—length from shoulder of spade downwards about 6 in., width at shoulder $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., greatest thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The larger upper blade—length from shoulder of spade downwards 13 in., width at shoulder 10 in., tapering to 8 in. at the edge of the blade. Distance from centre of handle across the shoulder of the spade to the left $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., and to the right $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Thickness of rivet pins $\frac{3}{10}$ in. Weight of this object, which consists only of the iron work, the wood having perished, 4lbs.

It is difficult to decide for what special purpose this curious spade was intended. Its complicated nature seems to serve no particular object.

Fig. 4. The back portion of a spade blade, formed of rather thick wrought iron, the length being $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and the greatest width 5 in., tapering to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. The portion of the blade which is below the folded sides is hammered out to form a cutting edge. The handle was probably cut from solid oak,

having a spade-shaped end, which was driven under the doubled back-sides of the iron blade, as shewn in the illustration. The wood still remains under each overlap; and in the middle, between these pieces of wood, there are the remains of a nail or rivet, $\frac{8}{10}$ in. long, projecting from the plate. This must have passed into or through the thickest portion of the handle base. It is curious that the continuation of the wood handle should, in this case, form the back of the spade, and in No. 3 the front. This spade is roughly made, and very similar in shape and size to those used at the present day by clay diggers and puddlers.

Clay appears to have been the only material used for flooring in the early dwellings of this district; clay also formed the chief ingredient of the walls in these early timber-framed houses. Trenches from which the clay was taken for these purposes are often exposed on the shore, although when first made they must have been some distance from it. They are mostly at right angles to the shore, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width and sometimes as much as 40 feet in length. These trenches were probably commenced at what was known to be the lower portion of the clay bed, and by working upwards the drainage would be from the digger to that portion already excavated.

Fig. 5. The iron blade and sides which were formerly fitted to an oak spade, used for cutting peat or turf. The upper portion of the iron is deeply grooved, to admit the edge of the oak blade; the front is flat; the back is bevelled, and thus forms a sharp cutting edge. The iron sides, which enclosed the wooden blade, are $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with beaten-out clips at the top of each. Through the outer sides of these clips there is a hole for the insertion of a nail or other fastening. The

width of the inside of the clips indicates that the wood of the spade at that part was $\frac{9}{10}$ in. thick, tapering to $\frac{2}{10}$ in. at the groove in the iron blade.

Among these ancient agricultural instruments we have examples of the digging fork, and every type of spade in practical use in our own time. Although, of course, we now use improved and better finished articles, it may be questioned whether an ordinary village blacksmith or wheelwright at the present day could turn out better work or more useful specimens of their handicraft.

Figs. 6 and 7. Two iron ploughshares, both of which were socketed. In fig. 7 a portion of the plough handle or frame remains in the socket by which the share was forced through the soil. The socket originally extended for one-half of the length of the share, exclusive of the projection from the upper part, in which is a hole for the insertion of a nail or rivet, by which it would be firmly fastened to the wooden handle of the plough. These primitive implements would effect little more than a scratching of the surface soil, and, unless the soil had been previously cleared from the roots of grass or weeds, the work of forcing these ploughs through the soil by hand must have been very laborious. About one-half of the front pointed end of the iron share is solid and straight, so as to rest horizontally on the ground; from this point the socket commences, and rises to such an angle as would enable a practical man, whilst pushing it forward, to keep the fore part of the plough at a fairly uniform depth below the surface. I possess two other specimens of these iron ploughshares similar in type and make to the two figured here.

Fig. 8. A small but heavily-socketed implement, which may have been used as a weeding spud. The edge of the blade is $2\frac{2}{10}$ inches wide, by little more than 1 inch in length. The socket, which contains the remains of a wooden handle, extends about four-fifths of the entire length. The blade has probably been very much reduced in size by use. In two other somewhat similar specimens in my collection the blades are larger, but being damaged are irregular in outline.

The implement figured and described by Sir John Evans, F.R.S., in *Ancient Bronze Implements*, p. 71, fig. 48, as an Icelandic palstave, appears to be adapted for similar purposes as the three iron specimens here described.

Fig. 9. A large wooden needle, cut from oak. It is perfect in condition; its length is 16 in., its greatest width $\frac{6}{10}$ in., and its thickness $\frac{3}{10}$ in. It is perforated at the larger end with an elongated eye. This needle was probably used for passing cord through thatch, and thus securing it to the roofs of dwellings and outhouses.

Fig. 10. An iron fleam or lancet, used for bleeding horses.

Fig. 11. An oval-shaped wrought iron bell. Dimensions at the top are:—greatest width $1\frac{8}{10}$ in., and width across 1 in. The lower portion or mouth was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. On the top of the bell is an iron loop or suspender, which would admit of a leather strap, 1 in. wide, being passed through it. Its probable use was as a cattle or sheep bell.

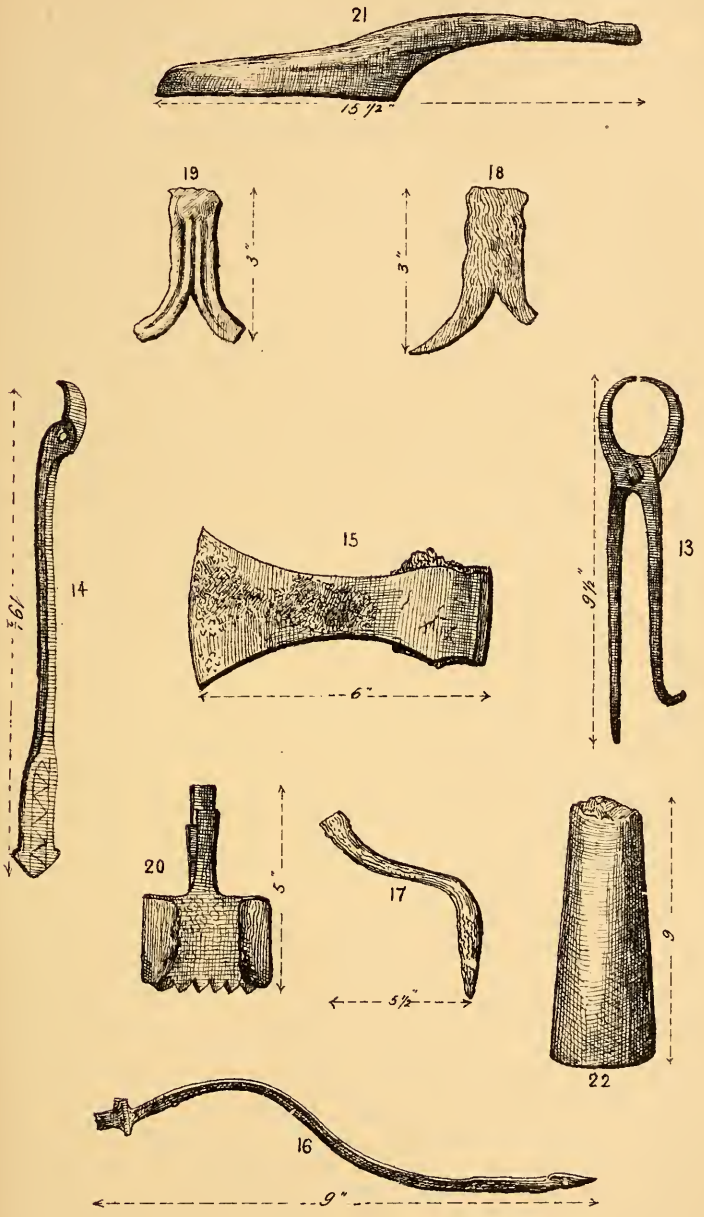
Fig. 12. A well-made wooden hammer-head. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., greatest width $2\frac{8}{10}$ in., greatest thickness $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. It is cut from very close-grained wood, probably yew, and has evidently seen hard

service. The thickest and broadest portion of the head is in the middle, where the handle passed through it. This hammer-head had but one faced end, the greatest width of which was about 2 in. by $1\frac{8}{10}$ in. The face of the head was originally flat, and nearly circular, the angles having been rounded and tapered off from the handle. The opposite end is worked to a blunt cutting edge, $2\frac{2}{10}$ in. wide; the under part has a straight bevel, and the upper part a curved bevel. On the under side, at $1\frac{5}{10}$ in. from the edge, is a small circular hole, which may have been used to fasten a metal cover or blade to the wood.

In the foregoing description of agricultural implements I have not referred to the sheep-shears and sickles left by the inhabitants of this old settlement, which are so similar to those in use at the present time as to render description useless. It appears strange that amongst the many implements of husbandry found at Great Meols no trace of a scythe should have occurred. Could it be that the scythe was unknown, or little used in the neighbourhood? Or was the value of so large a piece of iron for re-manufacture so great as to prevent its being carelessly thrown aside?

Plate B.—Mechanical Implements.

Fig. 13. Among the mechanical implements found is a pair of blacksmith's pincers. So similar are these to those used at the present day, even to the hook at the end of the handle by which they are suspended, that description is almost superfluous. The same might be said of figs. 14, 16, 21 and 22, of which, however, a brief description is given.



MECHANICAL IMPLEMENTS FOUND ON THE MEOLS SHORE

FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR CHARLES POTTER

Fig. 14. Part of a pair of blacksmith's tongs. Of such tongs I possess three legs, each apparently from a separate pair of tongs. The leg figured is square, with a broad beaten-out handle, four inches long, bearing incised ornamentation. The others have round handles, and are as roughly made as the tongs seen in an ordinary modern smithy.

Fig. 15. A well-finished iron axe, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the edge of the blade. The late Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, author of "Roman Cheshire," &c., saw this implement, and informed me that he believed it to be of Roman manufacture.

Fig. 16. A bent specimen of a carpenter's augur. This must have been a weak tool, and coarsely finished, the shaft being little more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in. in thickness, by $\frac{4}{10}$ in. wide. It has the pointed cut screw of the gimlet, which is flattened out, perhaps by use.

Fig. 17. A tool, the use of which is uncertain. The flattened, pointed blade may once have been sharpened for cutting purposes; or it may have had an unsharpened edge, and have been used for the ornamentation of leather. The blade is rather longer than those in use at the present time for that purpose. It probably had a wooden handle.

Figs. 18 and 19. These tools are also of uncertain use. The ends, in both cases, are slightly curved, and have had sharp cutting edges. The edge of fig. 18 is $1\frac{1}{10}$ in. wide. The tool is much stouter and stronger than fig. 19, which is only $\frac{9}{10}$ in. wide. The shortened fork in fig. 19 may have been broken.

Fig. 20. A cooper's tool, used in cutting grooves for the insertion of heads and bottoms in

casks, tubs, and pails. The tool is in three pieces; first, a very stout iron-socketed frame, $2\frac{8}{10}$ in. wide, from which projects a handle, 3 inches in length; the sides of this frame are bent, or doubled over, to form the socket to allow a toothed cutting blade to be worked up and down in it. From this blade projects a second handle, $2\frac{6}{10}$ in. long, corresponding to the one on the frame. Between these two handles is an iron wedge, which being driven down fixes and holds the blade in the position required for the work to be done. At first this is but a scratch on the surface of the wood; as the cutting proceeds the toothed blade is projected further from the socket, until the groove is of the required depth to hold the heads of casks or the bottoms of tubs and pails.

Fig. 21. A wooden mallet, of the same shape as those used in the present day by plumbers for beating out lead. It has been cut from a solid block of oak.

Fig. 22. A muller, formed of mountain limestone. An implement of this kind is still used by painters in grinding and mixing paint, usually on a smooth stone slab. This muller is 9 in. high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at the top, expanding to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the bottom; it is well rounded throughout. The base of this specimen gives evidence of much use, by its smoothed and polished surface.

What clay has done in preserving the ice grooving and marking on the old surfaces of the Triassic rocks, or the blown sand in preserving the wind ripples and foot prints in the drift material of which these rocks are composed, blown sand has also done on the old cultivated soils, which it covers, abutting on the Cheshire shore. Occasionally,

after a storm, a strip of land may be found from which the drift sand has been swept away, without obliterating the indented foot-prints of cattle, &c.

Before I visited this shore, the late Canon Hume, in his *Ancient Meols*, had pointed out that in some places the land covered by sand dunes had been cultivated in butts; also that the old foot-prints of cattle, pigs, and sheep were deeply indented in its surface. To this I can bear witness, having seen the same thing many times at Great Meols.

When visiting the shore in the company of Messrs. Edw. W. Cox and W. Fergusson Irvine, in the spring of 1892, we came across the uncovered patch of an old track, or road: its direction was E. by W. On this were deeply-impressed wheel marks, 5 feet apart, the breadth of the wheels being 9 inches. The horses had been shod with the very broad mediæval shoes, and the driver with the sharp-pointed shoes of the same period, which left an impression 11 inches in length, by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches at their greatest width. There were also the foot-prints of cattle.

In my collection I have leather pointed shoe soles, and broad horse shoes so similar that they might possibly have formed these very impressions. The marks were deeply impressed in the soil, and as sharp and fresh as if made within twenty-four hours previous to exposure.

When these impressions were made by man and beast it is possible that the flooding, which must have depopulated and played so important a part in devastating this settlement, had commenced. But whether that was the case or not, it is evident that the first irruption of drift sand followed close upon those wheels and the feet of man and beast, that were apparently the last to traverse this old road.

It was, in fact, but a track across the surface soil, yet may have been used far back in the Neolithic period, by the early forefathers of that neighbourhood, who have left so many traces of their existence on and in it.

THE CHILD MARRIAGE OF RICHARD, SECOND VISCOUNT MOLYNEUX, WITH SOME NOTICES OF HIS LIFE, FROM CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS.

By T. Algernon Earle, and R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.

Read 5th March, 1891.

AMONG the many interesting documents in the muniment room at Croxteth, is a copy of a curious *Case and Opinions*, dated 12th July, 1648, relating to a contract of marriage, made when under age, by Richard, afterwards second Viscount Molyneux, and the Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley, daughter of the seventh Earl of Derby. Inasmuch as this gives an interesting statement of the law governing such contracts, and is a contemporary commentary on a custom, at the time it was written of frequent occurrence and long standing, it seems to be well worth recording at length.

Of these "Child Marriages," Strype says in his *Memorials* (b. ii, p. 313), that "in the latter part of "the sixteenth century the nation became scan- "dalous for the frequency of divorces, especially "among the richer sort, one occasion being the "covetousness of the nobility and gentry, who "used often to marry their children when they "were young boys and girls, that they might join

"land to land; and, being grown up, they many "times disliked each other, and then separation "and divorce followed, to the breach of espousals "and the displeasure of God."

Instances in our own two counties are numerous enough; and, strange to say, the first Lord Molyneux was in early life contracted in marriage to Fleetwood, daughter and heiress of Richard Barton, of Barton Row, co. Lanc.; but the marriage not having been consummated, and he "being of the "age of fourteen years and not consenting thereto," it was dissolved by the Bishop of Chester, 15th February, 1607.[1]

The document with which we are concerned, and which is exhibited by the kind permission of the Earl of Sefton, K.G., consists of a brief *Statement of the Case*, with *Questions for the Opinion of Counsel*, and their *Answers* to the same, as follows:—

The Lord Molyneux beinge of the age of 16: marryeth the ladie M. Stanley beinge of the age of 9: yeares wth the consent of the parents on both sides: Att her age of 12: (they liveinge in severall places) nothinge was done to th' givinge either the dissent or assent of either of them. Butt since she beinge of the age of 16: the lord Molineux hath sev^{r}all tymes pressed to p̃fecte the marryage butt she referred herselfe wholly to her parents without givinge anie other answere, and they have delayed him: butt have not given anie answere of assent or dissent.

1. Whether by mutuall consent of all p̃ties the marryage may yett be dissolved?

[Ans.] If there had beene anie expresse tacite consent, as by livinge together or the like, I conceive itt is a full marriage, and cannott be dissolved by agreem^{t} of both p̃ties.

2. Noe acte beinge done by either p̃tie att her age of 12, whether her libertie of disassent contineues?

[Ans.] If they lived asunder I doe take itt either p̃tie may disassent and marry elsewhere, unlesse some acte can be p̃ved to evidence theire mutuall assent, though anie small circumstance may be evidence of such assent.

[1] *Chetham Society Series*, xxxi, p. 176.

3. Admittinge *she* may dissent, whether *he* hath nott the same libertie ?

[Ans.] He hath the same libertie, yett because the circumstances that are to p̃ve such an assent be so manie & undetermined in law: I should advise my lord to have that determined in some iudiciall way, the consequence beinge great on either side, & I doe nott knowe anie other place whether this may be iudically determined butt either in the lords house or by Co̅mission under the great seale, but the former is more speedie.

4. Admittinge neither hath power to dissent, whatt remedie there is as the law nowe stands to force a cohabitation ?

[Ans.] There is noe settled course to force a cohabitation, butt if she be taken from him an action of trespasse lyes ag^{t} him or her that takes her, though I conceive the best way wilbe to petitõn the lords settinge forth the truth of the case & pray their order

1. for her declaringe her assent or dissent.
2. for stayinge her in the kingdome till that be done.
3. ffor orderinge a cohabitatõn as ag't her mother whoe hinders in case noe sufficient dissent.

MATH: HALE.

When a man att full age is contracted with a woman under the age of 12: yeares they are both att libertie to disassent & each may marry where they will att pleasure, the man before the assent of the woman, and the woman before such assent to the man, that assent of hers must be after the age of 12:

If a man att the age of 14: marrie a woman of the age of 10: he may as well disagree as she may, though he were att the age of consent, because in contracts of matrimonie either both must be bound, or equall electõn of disagreem^{t} given to both, & soe *à conversó* if the woman be of the age of consent and the man under. Co: Litt: (sect: 104.)

A: att the age of consent by licence and consent of parents married M: beinge wthin age to consent, afterwards M: accomplisheth the age of consent, A: beinge of the age of xxi, & M: att the age of consent desires to p̃fecte his marriage accordinge to the originall agreemt of parents, by a motion unto M: and her parents; M: denied to assent of herselfe butt referred herselfe to her parents, and since the age of consent noe other disassent; and M: is nowe att 16: yeares of age and upwards.

1. Whether for want of disassent att full age hath tyme consumated this marriage?
2. If nott because M: nev^{r} assented what is A: his remedie either to make M: his wife and receive her portõn, or be freed from that bond, and so enabled to marry another?

[Ans.] In this case it was nev^{r} in the power of A: to dissent or avoid this marriage unlesse M: at the age of 12: yeares had declared her dissent & desire to have avoyded the marryage. And if M: had then published her dissent in due forme and made her põtestation as the law requireth, then M: might have avoyded this marryage & contracte, and in that case A: by consequence had been also freed and might have married another woman. Butt nowe M: havinge nott dissented att the tyme aforesaid the lawe p̃sumeth her consent and they remaine husband and wife, & I knowe noe remedie att law to avoid itt or to dissolve itt till death.

July 12^{rh} 1648. A. M. Ducke.

The document is endorsed:—

1648.

The copie of the cases and opinions:

in another hand—

relateing to Contracte of Marriage made underage betweene the Ld Molyneux and M. Stanley

and, in another hand—

Not fitt to be showne unless we lay o^{r}selves open to make their bargaine.

Richard, second Viscount Molyneux, one of the parties to this "Child Marriage," was twenty-third in direct male descent from the original Molyneux, grantee of Sefton. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton (Knight and Baronet, created Viscount Molyneux, of Maryborough, in the Peerage of Ireland, 22nd December, 1628), by his wife Mary, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Caryll, of Denton, in the county of Sussex, Knight.

In the *Diary*, or Calendar, of James, seventh Earl of Derby, preserved at Knowsley, an entry in his handwriting records the birth of his daughter, Henrietta Maria, on 17th November, 1630. At the

time of the "Child Marriage," according to the *Statement of Case*, she was nine years old, so that it must have taken place in the year 1639.[2] At this time, the *Case* says, the bridegroom was sixteen years of age; therefore he must have been born in 1623. In Dugdale's *Visitation of Lancashire*, made in 1665, Caryll, third Viscount Molyneux, is returned as being then forty-one years old, implying that he was born in 1624, which is consistent with the birth of his elder brother Richard in 1623.[3] The bride, spoken of in her father's letters and diary as Mary, was born at Chelsea, on the day above named, and was the second daughter, and third child, of her illustrious parents. According to Madame De Witt,[4] she was her mother's companion during the siege of Lathom House, in the spring of 1644. And in her father's *Diary* is an interesting record of how she saved the life of her brother William, when he was falling over a precipice at Castle Rushen, in the Isle of Man, in the month of November, 1645.

The first Viscount Molyneux died in 1636, and was buried at Sefton on the 9th of March in that year.[5] In the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, for the year 1635-36, an incomplete copy of his funeral certificate is printed, reciting his burial at Sefton, and that his eldest son was already married to Mary, daughter of James, Lord Strange.

Appended to the certificate is an information of Edward Asfolte [? Holt, of whom more presently],

2 One wonders where: was it in the old Chapel at Knowsley, now desecrated, and turned into the kitchen? or in that at Lathom, long since levelled to the ground? The Vicar of Ormskirk writes that there is no record of it in the Ormskirk parish registers.

3 In the *Domestic State Papers* there is a letter, dated 27th November, 1633, from John Dinley, writing from the Hague, to Sir Francis Nethersole, saying that "the Queen of Bohemia wishes him to inquire after a young son "of Lady Fulgiam's [Foljambe's], or Mollenex [Molyneux], who has been "recommended to her for a page." This probably refers to our hero.

4 *Lady of Lathom*, p. 92.

5 Buried: "Richardus Molyneux Vicecomes de Maryborough, 9 March" [1636].—*Sefton Registers*.

given with a view to the preparation of the preceding certificate, in which he mentions that "the first "Viscount Molyneux was son of Sir Richard "Molyneux, and that besides his two sons Richard "and Caryll, he had a daughter Frances, who died "s.p., and that he left two daughters surviving, "Charlotte and Mary, both unmarried; Sir "Richard, the father of the first Viscount, had "had three daughters; Elizabeth, married to "[Richard] Sherborne, of Stonyhurst, co. Lanc.; "Juliana, married to Sir Thomas Walmsley, of "that co.; and Margaret, married to Sir George "Simonds, of co. Oxford."

On his father's death in 1636, the young Lord Molyneux became a ward of the king, who appointed as his guardian his neighbour, James, Lord Strange, whose services in this capacity were soon called into requisition. In the first place, the late lord, though the owner of large estates, had encumbered them, and died considerably in debt. Next, his heir and his heir's guardian were speedily involved in litigation with the widow of the late lord and her second husband; and, lastly, there was trouble brewing with the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town of Liverpool, as the following extracts from the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for the reign of King Charles I. clearly show:—

1637-8. February 2nd. [*Calendar* for the year, p. 224.]

Petition of Marie Viscountess Molineux, on behalf of herself and younger children, to the King.

Richard Lord Molineux, her late husband, charged divers of his lands with an annuity of 100*l.* per annum from his decease for the life of Cecil (*sic*) [it should, of course, be Caryll] Molineux, his younger son, and also 100*l.* apiece for his two daughters, to be paid within a year after his death. Petitioner had for her jointure, amongst other lands, the tithes of Knowsley Barn,[6] co. Lancaster, of the value of 100*l.* per annum, yet Lord Strange

[6] Knowsley Barn and Tythes were subsequently settled on Frances, wife of this same Richard, second Viscount Molyneux.—*Croxteth Muniments.*

has, since her husband's decease, which is now almost two years, withheld the same from her, and the annuity for her son and portions for her daughters are also withheld from them. Out of respect for Lord Strange, into whose family her son is matched, and to prevent suits, petitioner addressed herself to his Majesty for relief. He referred the business to Archbishop Laud, the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Treasurer, before whom petitioner produced her deed of jointure. It was pretended that Lord Strange's writings were in the country[7], whereupon the Lords gave him till before Michaelmas term to produce them, and directed speed to be used in raising the children's portions; none of which had been done, and Lord Strange had got the time for producing the deeds enlarged until Easter term. Prays the King to direct a shorter day within a month after this term.

[Underwritten]—*Minute of the King's pleasure that Lord Strange is to have his writings ready to be produced on the 14th of March next, when the referees shall meet for determining this cause. Whitehall, 2nd February, 1637-8.*

1638. May 31st. [*Calendar* for the year, p. 481.]

Roger Downes and Edward Wrightinton to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Treasurer.

According to an Order of the 6th of April last, we, the Counsel for Lord Strange and Lord Molyneux, attended Sergeant Whitfield and other of the Counsel for Mons. Tartaro and Lady Molyneux his wife, concerning 100*l.* per annum annuity claimed by her for her younger son and 1000*l.* apiece claimed by her for her two daughters' portions. It was showed by Edward Holt, agent for Lord Molyneux, that the lands chargeable with these payments were of the value of 600*l.* per annum, and that they were subject to precedent charges, which are here enumerated, and which far more than exceeded the value of the lands.[8]

7 Order of Council, Jan. 24, 1637-8. Robert Coytmore, servant to Lord Strange, by petition showed that Mr. Tartaro, husband to the Viscountess Molineux, delivered him a note intimating the Lords' pleasure to hear this day the business in difference between his Lordship and Lady Molineux, but neither having the papers nor time to acquaint his Lord, he prayed for further time. The Lords appointed the 2nd May next. [*Calendar* for the year, p. 183.]

8 In the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for year 1635 (p. 122), under date June 13, the first Lord Molyneux's debt to the Crown is given as "13,184*l.* 19*s.* 2¾*d.* and two parts of a farthing," as security for the payment of which the Crown held the Manors of Sefton and Tarbuck, and annually received the rents and profits thereof. In the second Lord Molyneux's *Royalist Composition Papers*, we find that in the year 1647 this debt had been reduced to 3433*l.* 16*s.* 0¾*d.*, and that his sisters' portions were still unpaid. In the same Collection is an Affidavit of Nehemiah Brettargh, of Aighburgh,

Nevertheless, Lord Molyneux offered that if Lady Molyneux will not out of her great estate maintain her said children till Lord Molyneux be of full age, being but two years, he would provide that for one of the daughters, Lady Strange being her godmother, would keep her as she does her own daughters, and for the younger son that he shall be provided for according to his rank, without any great charge, for the present, to the estate. For the younger daughter, being about five or six years old, her charge in her mother's hands for the present is not considerable.

Meanwhile, before any decision on these points had been given, Lady Molyneux herself died, in or about the month of June, 1639, as appears by the following incomplete copy of the

Funeral Certificate by [William Ryley, Bluemantle] of Mary Viscountess Molyneux, of Maryborough, Ireland (relict of Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton, co. Lancaster, Knight, created the second Baronet of England the 22nd May, 1611, and afterwards made Viscount Molyneux of Maryborough by King Charles), daughter and one of the co-heirs of Sir Thomas Carrell, of Sussex, departed this life at her house in St. Martin's Lane in the Fields, [? June,] 1639. She had issue by the said Viscount—1st, Richard, her eldest son, Viscount Molyneux after his father, who married Mary, daughter of James, Lord Strange, heir apparent to William, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, [Baron] Strange of Knockin, and of the Isle of Man, and Knight of the Garter; 2nd, Carrell, second son; 3rd, Frances, eldest daughter, who died young; 4th, Charlotte, second daughter, unmarried; 5th, Mary, third daughter, unmarried. The said Viscountess was afterwards married to . . . .[9]

The next document connected with the matter that we meet with occurs at p. 385 of the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1639, being a Report, dated 11th July in that year, from Francis, Lord Cottington, and Edward, Lord Newburgh, to the Council:—

According to your order of the 21st of last month, touching a difference between Viscount Molyneux and Mr. Tarteran, who

to the effect that he had heard and believed that the late Lord Molyneux had charged the Manor of Sefton and other lands with the payment of 2000*l.* as portions for his two daughters, Charlotte and Mary.

9 Of this Certificate, printed on p. 359 of the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for year 1639, there is neither original nor copy at the College of Arms; so, unfortunately, the deficiencies cannot be supplied.

married the said Lord's mother, we have heard their counsel on both sides, and find that it is by them agreed that the late Viscount Molyneux died indebted to his Majesty, as Receiver General of the duchy, about 7000*l.*, of which 2000*l.* is paid, besides above 9000*l.* due to other creditors; that the personal estate is legally liable to the satisfaction of these debts, and that the said Viscount by his Will ordered that out of his personal estate his funeral and debts should be satisfied, and that he has particularly disposed of the rest by his Will; that there were covenants between Mr. Tarterean and the Viscountess before marriage, by which it was ordered that he should pretend to no more, in case of her death, than the fourth part of her estate, and the residue to remain for the benefit of her children. On Viscount Molyneux's behalf it is alleged that the lady possessed herself of jewels to the value of 4000*l.* and of divers sums of money not duly belonging to her until the debts should be first paid; and on the other side Mr. Tarterean pretends not to desire any more than what is allotted him by agreement. Touching the debts to the King and others, it is apparent, if they shall be preferred and paid out of the personal estate, it will carry all away both from the Viscountess Molyneux and her children. It is alleged by Mr. Tarterean's counsel that in equity they ought rather to be laid upon the real estate, and it is by them all agreed that a court of equity must at length settle these questions; and to the end it may be so, they likewise agree that there must be an administrator for the goods of the deceased lady. Who this administrator shall be is indeed the only question for the present. Mr. Tarterean desires that he may be chosen, giving good security to perform any decree that shall be made in a court of equity. On the other side it is alleged that Tarterean is a stranger, and that by virtue of such an administration he may gain a legal interest in that part of the estate which by the covenants he is debarred from. This last allegation is chiefly insisted upon by Mr. Bosden, of the Inner Temple, who is entrusted for the children, and therefore both he and the counsel for Viscount Molyneux desire that there may be choice made of an indifferent third person, who may be entrusted with the administration for all parties, and answer to such bill or bills as shall be brought in equity, and to dispose of the estate as shall be ordered and decreed; and because they earnestly insisted upon this difference, they all consented to refer it to your Lordships' determination, viz., whether Mr. Tarterean upon good security, or a third person, shall be administrator.

But the young Lord Molyneux had more formidable antagonists to contend with than Mons. Tartaro, as we see from the following (printed

presumably Tarterean

on p. 200 of the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for 1640):

Petition of James Lord Strange, committee of the body and lands of Richard Lord Viscount Molineux, the King's Ward, to the King. By letters patent for valuable considerations, you granted to Edward Dichfield, John Highlord, Humphrey Clarke and Francis Mosse, and their heirs the town and manor of Liverpool, co. Lancaster, with the courts leet and all other courts, and the passage over the Mersey, with other tolls, and the profits of the same, of all which your ward's ancestors have for above 100 years been farmers. Now Edward Dichfield and the rest in consideration of 450*l.* paid by Richard Viscount Molineux deceased, father of your ward, conveyed the town and manor to Sir Thos. Walmsley, William Fazakerley, and John Nutter, and their heirs in trust for the said Viscount and his heirs.[10] After the Viscount's death, the new Viscount Molineux, his son and heir, was found to be your ward, the custody of whose body and lands was by the Court of Wards committed to petitioner, who therefore endeavoured to collect the rents and profits of the manor and tolls for the use of your ward, but was interrupted by the mayor and burgesses of Liverpool, wherefore Sir Rowland Wandsford, Attorney of the Court of Wards, about three years since, exhibited an information against them in the said Court, and they thereupon about two years since preferred their petition to you, which you referred to the now Lord Treasurer and Lord Cottington.[11]

10 The following is printed at page 129 of Gisborne Molineux's *Memoirs of the Molineux Family, 1882*:—

"At a Court of Comittee holden at the Guildhall London
"on Thursday the 28th of May 1635.

"The Lordshippe or Manner of Litherpoole in the County of Lancaster "of the yearly rent of Fourteen pounds six shillings and eight pence is this "day by the Comittee contracted for and sold unto Edward Holt gent. for "and on the behalf and to the use of the Right Honourable Lo. Viscount "Mollineux for the sume of Fower hundred and Fifty pounds wch the said "Mr. Holt hath agreed to pay in ready money at the sealing of the assurances. "And Mr. Moss Mr. Nichol and Mr. Shilde are appointed to make and passe "the said assurances or conveyances sufficiently in Lawe of the said Lord-"shippe or Mannor above-mentioned with all royalties rights members and "appurtenances thereto belonging to the said Rt Honoble the Lord Mollneux "or to whom else he shall nominate and appoint.

"Edw. Holt.

"Endorsed for Mr. John Blunt at his
"Chamber in Cleamont in" [Clement's Inn]. [Almack* MSS.]

* At the house of Richard Almack, Esq., Melford, in Suffolk, are preserved many documents and letters of early date relating to the Molyneux family.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 1st Report, 55.

11 Among the Croxteth Muniments are portions of a copy of this petition, so frayed as to be in great measure illegible, from the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the Town of Liverpool to the King's Majesty, setting forth that "the Londoners" had sold the Town and Lordship of Liverpool with

They having heard the cause in June, 1638, dismissed petitioner from further attendance on the said petition, since which time, nearly two years, the mayor and burgesses have not put in their answers to the information, though the Court in favour has granted them several commissions to take their answers, but have stood out all process of contempt, and have lately, after so much disobedience to the Court, presented a second petition to you, which you have referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Lords. Now this petition is in substance the same as the former, and as the now Lord Treasurer and Lord Cottington, on hearing the cause, dismissed petitioner as aforesaid, and that the matters in variance have been so long depending in a legal course, and might long since have been settled, if the mayor and bailiffs, distrusting the justice of their own cause, had not used so many unjustifiable delays; and as they have long stood and still are in contempt of the Court, petitioner prays you to discharge him and your ward from further attendance on the late reference, and to leave the trial of the matter to a due course of law, when the many contempts of the mayor and burgesses may be examined and punished and the legal rights of both parties finally determined.

[Underwritten]—*His Majesty never intended by his former reference to interrupt the course of justice in this business, and leaves the matters in variance to be tried in due course of law.—Whitehall, May 22, 1640.*

Soon after this, the young lord and his brother Caryll were at Preston Guild, where they were sworn in as "foreign burgesses" in the year 1642, the name of the younger one being entered on the Roll as "Carolus."

The next time that we hear of Lord Molyneux at Preston he was there on more serious business than attending a Guild.

On the 20th June, 1642, the Sheriff of Lancashire[12]

all things appertaining thereto to Lord Molyneux, begging that the transaction be annulled, and that the Lordship be taken into the King's hands and fee-farmed out to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses at the accustomed rent of £14 6 8 a-year. The matter was referred by the King to the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "calling to them Mr. Attorney," and on the petition is endorsed an order dated 7th May, 1638, signed by "Gul. "London" and "ffra. Cottington," that all parties concerned in the matter do attend before them in the inner Star Chamber on Friday the eighth of June next.

12 Sir John Girlington, of Thurland Castle, near Lancaster; surrendered at Thurland in 1643; slain in battle near Melton Mowbray, 1645, being then Major-General.

read the King's "Commission of Array"[13] to an assembly of some 5000 persons on Preston Moor, in presence of Lord Strange, Royalist Lord-Lieutenant of the county; his eldest son, then a child; Lord Molyneux, described in a contemporary account of the proceedings as "son-in-law to "Lord Strange," and many others. Soon afterwards, the Sheriff seized the powder magazine at Preston; and Lord Strange, having done the same at Liverpool, was preparing to take that at Manchester, when he was anticipated by the action of Sir Thomas Stanley and other Parliamentary Deputy Lieutenants of the county. Some three weeks later, Lord Strange, having been invited to a banquet by some of the chief men of Manchester, entered the town in his coach, accompanied by the Sheriff, Lord Molyneux, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, K.B., of Ordsall, and others, on the 15th July. In the evening there was an affray in the streets, when it is said that the first blood in the Civil War was shed. The victim's name was Richard Parcival, of Kirkman's Hulme, a linen webster, whose death was afterwards made a count in the impeachment for high treason exhibited in Parliament against Lord Strange, 16th September, 1642. With Lord Strange (who, on the 29th September, succeeded to the Earldom of Derby) Lord Molyneux remained during the investment of Manchester,[14] and in a skirmish which took place before the town on the 25th September, the Parliamentarians reported that Lord Molyneux, the "Earl of Derby's son-in-law," was killed.

[13] The Commission was addressed to Lord Strange, the Sheriff, Sir George Middleton, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Mr. Tyldesley (then resident at Myerscough), and Mr. William Farrington, and commanded them to "muster, array, and set in military order the inhabitants of the district."

[14] In a Diary, written by some one in Manchester at the time, now among the Duke of Sutherland's MSS. at Trentham, it is stated that the besiegers had five troops of horse, one of which, a troop of dragoons, was commanded by Lord Molyneux.—*Hist. MSS. Commission*, v, 142.

On the 1st October, by command of the King, Lord Derby raised the siege and drew off his forces, consisting of three regiments of infantry and three troops of horse, to join his sovereign at Shrewsbury, accompanied, no doubt, by Lord Molyneux. When, however, Lord Derby was sent back to Lancashire, without the levies he had himself raised, Lord Molyneux remained with the King, and is said to have taken part with these Lancashire regiments in the battle of Edge Hill, on the 23rd October, where, according to the author of *The Lady of Lathom*, "his troops were much "shattered."

What these troops were, or who raised them, is not, perhaps, very clear. Collins, in his *Baronetage* (edition 1720, vol. i, p. 26), states that Richard, Lord Molyneux, and his brother Caryll "raised two regiments," one of horse and another of foot, for the King's service. Lord Derby, in his *Narrative*, printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (2, c. xi, 22), speaks of having raised three thousand good men, who went forth from Lancashire and other places of his lieutenancy to join the King at Shrewsbury. This is confirmed by the writer of the *Journal of the Siege against Lathom*, who seems to say in a marginal note that these three thousand included the regiments of Lord Molyneux and Sir Gilbert Gerard, and Sir Thomas Salisbury's Welshmen. Be this as it may, that both Richard, Lord Molyneux, and his brother Caryll did their utmost in all ways to aid the Royal cause is well known, and what their loyalty cost the family the *Royalist Composition Papers* give us some idea. As the author of *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* admirably puts it:—"To the King at "Shrewsbury every gentleman brought a retinue "according to his means, together with money, "plate, and arms, to furnish which many a

"household was stripped bare, and many a comfort "sacrificed for ever."

On the 10th December, 1642, Lord Derby and his friends met in conference at Preston, with a view to raising funds for the prosecution of the war. At this Lord Molyneux does not appear to have been present; so we may conclude that he had not yet come north again. Later on, however, having returned to Lancashire for recruits, he joined Lord Derby at Lathom, and was with him at the taking of Lancaster on the 20th, and Preston on the 22nd March, 1643. On the 18th, before Lancaster, he seems to have engaged the troop of Captain William Shuttleworth, M.P., who was slain in the encounter.[15] Flushed with success, Lord Derby was now advancing against Manchester, and had already reached Chorley, when an express from the King at Oxford, addressed to Lord Molyneux, ordered him to detach himself and his troops from his leader, and repair to the Royal camp. Before any separation took place, their forces were defeated by Colonel Ashton, at Whalley, on the 20th April, after which Lord Derby retired, by way of Hornby and Skipton Castles, to meet the Queen at York,[16] in order to urge upon her the grave necessities of the Lancashire royalists. At York he remained a fortnight, and while there received the unwelcome intelligence that the Scots were preparing to seize the Isle of Man, where an outbreak of the natives against his authority was also said to be imminent. Abandoning, therefore, his intention of attending the Queen to Oxford, he hastened to his island home.

Meanwhile, Colonel Ashton followed up his vic-

[15] *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire, Chet. Soc. Series ii*, 85, note.

[16] She had landed at Burlington Quay with supplies, 22nd February, in consequence of which the Commons proposed to impeach her (May 22), but the Lords would not entertain the suggestion.

tory at Whalley, and acting on the aggressive, pressed Lord Molyneux and Colonel Tyldesley, who had been left in command by Lord Derby, and "who in the end gave me as much trouble as the "enemy," writes the Earl in his *Narrative*, printed by Peck. Before Ashton the Royalist leaders retired through West Derby Hundred, and over the Ribble sands at Hesketh Bank into Kirkham parish, while he advanced through Ormskirk to Preston. In Kirkham Lord Molyneux was quartered at Clifton, and Colonel Tyldesley at Kirkham itself, "and "while they laid there the Earle of Darbie with a "few horse passed by Clifton, with litle or no "speach of him [*i.e.*, Lord Molyneux] and soe into "the North to White Haven, and taking shipping "there went into the Isle of Man, leaving his "Countess and children at Lathom." So writes the author of *A Discourse of the War in Lancashire*, 1655.[17]

From Kirkham the Royalists retired over Wyre Water, through Cockerham and Hornby, to Kirby Lonsdale, whither Colonel Ashton, marching direct through Lancaster, followed them. Here he gave up the pursuit and returned to Preston. At Kirby Lonsdale the Royalist commanders parted; Colonel Tyldesley took his men to join the Queen at York, and Lord Molyneux, coming south again, passed through the Fylde country, and fording the Ribble at Warton and the Mersey at Hale, led his men into Cheshire.[18]

We next hear of Lord Molyneux at the battle of Newbury, fought 20th September, 1643, where he held a command under the King, who led the royal

17 *Chat. Soc. Series*, lxii, 37.

18 Formerly, and within the memory of persons now living, both these fords were used by persons in vehicles or on foot. Being at Hesketh Bank, in March, 1893, I was told by an elderly inhabitant that he remembered coals being led across the sands from the pits near Eccleston into the Fylde country.—R. D. R.

army in person. The autumn and winter of this year he probably passed in company with Prince Rupert, raising forces in Wales and Shropshire. Warlike operations being resumed in the spring, on the 18th of May, 1644, Rupert's forces were at Drayton, on the 24th at Knutsford, on the 25th they took Stockport, on the 28th Bolton was carried with great slaughter, and on June 26th, after a siege of three weeks' duration, Liverpool capitulated. Here Caryll Molyneux's intimate acquaintance with the defences of the town and the best way to approach it, proved of the greatest service to the Royalist commander, and were duly appreciated by his opponents. Liverpool being won, Rupert with Lord Derby, who had now returned from the Isle of Man, went north to relieve York. This was done without a battle, and Rupert was urged to rest content. He said he had orders from the King to fight, which he did, and suffered a terrible defeat at Marston Moor on the 2nd of July. Retiring thence, he passed, a few days later, through Lancashire, and, rallying some six thousand men, crossed into Cheshire by Haleford.

Some of the Royalist forces remained in Lancashire, however, for it was presently reported to the Speaker of the House of Commons that "on "Tuesday, in the evening of August 20th, Sir "John Meldrum, the Parliamentarian General, "overtook the enemy at Ormeschurch, and captured "300 prisoners and 500 horse, and killed about "100, and forced the rest into Cheshire, the lord "Biron and the lord Molineux being forced to "forsake their horses and hide themselves in the "cornfields." Sir John Meldrum's letter to the Committee of both Kingdoms, dated Ormskirk, 21st August, 1644, is given in the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, as follows :—

Since the conclusion of my former letter I have succeeded in driving the enemy from their quarter at Ormskirk, and forced them to take the field within one mile of the town upon a moor, where both bodies of horse being ranged in order, at 8 p.m. they were in their flight so hotly pursued by our horse that many were killed, and some prisoners of quality taken, which is the first act of the scene; the second will be played to-morrow if Prince Rupert does not enter upon the stage and interrupt the game. I am not able to give you an exact account at once, the fields not having been as yet viewed since the combat, but, by report of some officers, the enemy's loss is great in men, horses, and arms. After a view of the fields about daybreak, I resolve to march to the passage at Haleford which Prince Rupert has viewed within these two days upon a resolution to enter into Lancashire if his friends had been interrupted in their passage at Hosket [Hesketh] Bank. . . . Lord Byron was unhorsed, and Lord Mollineux's horse taken, and it is not as yet known whether he be dead or alive.

On the 17th September, 1644, the remnant of the Lancashire Royalist forces, some 4000 strong, under Lord Byron, was again defeated near Montgomery, and Sir Thomas Tyledesley[19] taken prisoner. Whether Lord Molyneux was engaged here we do not know; nor, indeed, so far as our present information goes, have we any knowledge of his movements from the time he disappeared in a cornfield near Ormskirk, on the 20th August, 1644, until he capitulated at Ludlow, in May, 1646.

Meanwhile, Liverpool having been re-taken in November, 1644, by the forces of the Parliament under Sir John Meldrum, in March of the following year the townspeople petitioned the Legislature to aid them in repairing the losses they had sustained by reason of the siege and occupation of the town

19 Though Tyledesley was three times taken prisoner during the war, he never seems to have remained long in custody, but was quickly in the field again, until his death at Wigan Lane, on 25th August, 1651. He "won his spurs" 2nd July, 1643, going south with the Queen, when he led a desperate cavalry charge over the thirty-six arches of Burton bridge. Here, too, while directing the passage of the infantry through the River Trent, another Lancashire man, Colonel Richard Gerard, of His Majesty's Guards, and cousin to Lord Molyneux, was shot through the thigh.—Collin's *Baronetage*, i, 103.

by the army under Prince Rupert.[20] Consequently, on 17th September, 1645, an Ordinance was made whereby "Milne and ferry-boats were settled upon "the Corporation in part of their satisfaction," and they were also exonerated from the future payment of £20 fee-farm rent, which they had been wont to pay to Lord Molineux. Further, on 1st October, 1645, it was "Ordered: That 500 tons of timber "be allowed unto the town of Liverpool for re-"building the said town, in a great part destroyed "and burnt down by the enemy; and that the said "500 tons be felled in the grounds and woods of "James, Earl of Derby, Richard, Lord Mollineux, "William Norris, Robert Blundell, Robert Molli-"neux, of the Wood in Melling, Charles Gerard, "and Edward Scarisbrick, Esquires, and that "it be referred to the Committee for Lancaster "that are members of this house to take order "for the due and orderly felling of the said timber "and for apportioning the quantities to be allowed "to the persons that suffered by the burning of "the said town and the rebuilding thereof."[21]

On the authority of a statement in Collins's *Baronetage*, it has been generally supposed that both Richard Lord Molyneux and his brother Caryll were in Oxford when it capitulated, on 24th June, 1646. But this, so far as Lord Molyneux is concerned, does not appear to have been the case, for among the *Royalist Composition Papers* is a pass, dated 27th May, 1646, permitting him and his servants to leave Ludlow,

[20] The Petition states that the Windmill and Ferry-boat which formerly belonged to the Corporation were lately in possession of Richard, Lord Molyneux, "whoe is in hostility against the Parliamt, and by his power with the "Lord Cottington, late Mr of the Courte of Wardes and Liveries, brought a "vexatious suite agst the sd Corporac'on to their great dammage and im-"poverishmt."—*Royalist Composition Papers, MS.*

[21] *Moore Rental, Chet. Soc. Series*, xxvij.

where they had just surrendered, signed, and sealed with his armorial bearings, by General Fairfax.

From the same prolific source of information we gather that, on 20th June following, Lord Molyneux was at his house in Lancashire, whence he dates a letter to the Committee for Compounding, asking that he may come up to London to compound, and confessing that he had borne arms against the Parliament. Neither Sefton or Croxteth would be particularly desirable places of residence at this time, for both had been pillaged by the Parliamentarians, and their owner's papers and title-deeds given to the winds or the fire, and the furniture carried off or destroyed.[22] So completely had they and his Sussex home been gutted, that, in putting in a return of his whole estate, dated 1st October, 1646, Lord Molyneux says that "Hee is possessed "of foure horses and furniture for travill worth "fourty pounds, other personal estate he hath "none."

Even on the four horses, on which he and his servants came to compound, he could not maintain a very firm hold, since they appear to have been seized by the County Committee of Sussex, who, on 10th September, were ordered by the General Committee in London to restore them to John Hindley, Lord Molyneux's steward. To which the Sussex Committee reply that the horses cannot be given back because they have been sold.

From these entries it would appear that Lord Molyneux must have come up to London from

22 The value of the latter the unfortunate Cavalier places at £700, which he asks the Committee to take into consideration in assessing his fine. He further pleads that many acres of his best meadow land have been dug up by his tenants for turf, and now lie waste. Affidavits of Nehemiah Brettargh, Esq., and Thomas Bootle, of Melling, gent., sworn 16th June, 1652, confirm another of his statements—"In the time of the wars the houses of Lord "Molyneux at Sefton and Croxteth were plundered, and the closets where his "evidences lay were broken open, and some of them were scattered about "the houses, some cancelled, other some carried away."

Lancashire, and then gone into Sussex to arrange matters there, and that on his way back to London to put his statements before the Committee for Compounding, the over-zealous Sussex committee had seized his horses, which brought upon them a reprimand from their superiors in London. Several similar instances occur in connection with Lord Molyneux, and one comes to the conclusion, from a perusal of *Composition Papers*, that "a Delinquent" had much more to fear from his neighbours in the country than from the General Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall.

No doubt as an important and necessary preliminary to an appearance before the Committee for Compounding, on the 20th August, 1646, Lord Molyneux took the National Covenant before William Barton, Minister of John Zacharies, and the Negative Oath the same day.

On 1st October a long "Particular" of his lordship's estate was put before the Committee, who, on 8th October, fixed his fine at a moiety, or 12,280*l.*, of which 5,555*l.* was to be abated if he settled the sums specified from four rectories for the maintenance of preaching ministers in certain churches and chapels for ever. To this Lord Molyneux objected, pleading the benefit of "Lud-"low Articles," by which he was entitled to compound on a lower scale.

Accordingly, on 29th October, the fine was reduced to 9,037*l.*, and if 357*l.* a-year is settled on the ministers, it is to be 5,367*l.*

On 8th December he is told that if he settles on the ministers as ordered, and pays 1,000*l.*, his statute will be taken for the rest, and on 12th December, having pleaded the want of his Evidences, he is given further time for payment.[23]

[23] A report as to the yearly value of Lord Molyneux's estates having been made by one Peter Ambrose to the Committee for Compounding, 1st Febru-

In February, 1647, he had leave to keep Courts, and to receive rents, towards paying his fine, in which things the County Committees are ordered not to obstruct him.

On December 20th in the same year he begs a further abatement of his fine, inasmuch as his bailiffs had made errors in stating his rents, and valued demesnes and tythes together, and further that he had compounded for the Manor of Male [Maghull] as in possession, whereas in this he had only an estate in reversion.[24]

Even had no "Great Rebellion" taken place, or our hero fought for the "King and the Cause," he must have been a poor man all his days. He succeeded to an encumbered estate, out of which he had to pay his mother's jointure, portions to his sisters, and an annuity to his brother, and to discharge his father's debt to the Duchy of Lancaster and other considerable liabilities. With his mother and his step-father he was early involved in litigation. His fines as a convicted Recusant would be considerable. And the burghers of Liverpool, headed by Colonel John Moore,[25] were not too friendly disposed towards his house. These latter, in or about the month of April, 1648, sent the following petition to the Honourable the

ary, 1647, Edmund Butterworth and others are ordered to state their conclusions on Peter Ambrose's report, which they shortly afterwards do, supporting their conclusions on evidence taken from "Surveys" and from "An Ancient "Book made in 11th Elizabeth," which "Rentale" is—one is glad to say—still carefully preserved in the Muniment room at Croxteth, a magnificent specimen of caligraphy, with floriated capitals, written on 132 pages of vellum, 18 by 12 inches.

24 This Manor, formerly the inheritance of Richard Holme of Male (alias Maghull), Esq., deceased, and of Edmond Holme, son and heir of the said Richard, had been demised, in 1628, by the first Lord Molyneux to Sir Garret Kempe, Knight, of Slindon, in Sussex, as security for an advance of 1500*l*, in respect of which there was due at this time 1980*l*.

25 On 31st January, 1645, John Moore, Esq., was nominated Steward of the Wapintake of West Derby, in place of Lord Molyneux.

Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, showing :[26]

That yor pec^tors zealouslie affecting and to the uttermost of their abillities prossecuting the co̅mon cause wch yor hon^ors maintaine against all the Enemies thereof did not only really but resolutely act in seuerall tymes spoiling of all such as it had Instruments as dide side with the malignant party within the County of Lancaster and elsewhere which said County was extremely infected with the contagion of popery and malignancy whereof it yet fouly sauoureth to the grief of all good people.

Soe it is that yor peticon^rs earneest endeauo^r for the defence of truth was not onely much distasted by the popish fac̅on but the malignant party which did consist of all the Nobility and most Gentry in that County did ioyne together and by promising greate sommes of money unto that unhappy Prince Rupert if he would march with his bands and strong army into that County and so to beleague Liverpoole which they accompted the place which would most oppose them and the most convenient for the Irish and Welsh to come aud ioyne with them if obteyned in hope of wch great somme of money the Prince with his valent army marched into that County and beleagured yor poore peten^ors and dyverse tymes assaulted us yet by the mercy of God and the Resoluc̅on of the Co̅and^rs and soldiers was seuerall tymes repulsed with the losse of many hundreds of his men so that he utterly despaired of the getting of the Towne and in all likelyhood had neuer entred had not the Seamen deserted their charge in the Night neither the Co̅and^rs nor soldiers knowing thereof being upon duty at the other side of the Towne By reason of which desertion the enemy entred at their void Sconces into the Towne by which meanes yor poore petion^ers and the other soldiers became a prey to the merciless enemy and dyvers of them were barberously Massacred and most of the rest imprisoned and all dispoyled and robbed of their Estates to the value of 23000^li under which losse their wifes and poor infants groane to this day and their bloody Enemies haue greatly inriched themselves and many of those that procured the Prince to come into o^r County are men of great Estates adiacent to the said Towne.

The premesies tenderly considered yor petion^rs humbly pray that yor hon^ors would be graciously pleased to vouchsafe unto yor petion^rs (who have lost all their temporall Estate and subsistence

[26] For permission to transcribe this and a further petition, we are indebted to the kindness of the Reverend J. H. Stanning, M.A., Vicar of Leigh, Lancashire, who is editing a volume of *Royalist Composition Papers* for the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society.

and many of their houses being destroyed by the barbarous Enemy only for adheuring unto the hono^{ble} houses of Parlia^{t}) to put them into such a way that the truth of yor petitio^{rs} losses may be fully certified unto yor honours and thereupon be pleased to order that the losses of yor poore peticon^{rs} be satisfied [out of the estates of] the Earle of Derby the Lord Mollineux Mr Blundell of Ince Mr Blundell of Crosby Mr Scasbridge [Scarisbrick] Mr Norris of Speake Sr Wm Gerard Mr Tarleton Mr Mollineux of the Wood Mr Chorley Mr Clifton and Mr Fazeakerley or so many of them as y^{r} hono^{rs} shall thinke fitt most of them being papists in Armes and were the principal procurers of the Enemyes advance into o^{r} Countie and were the chiefe abettors of them to robb and spoyle your peticõn^{rs} and under pretence of a Coñission did sitt in the said Towne to sett and sell yor peticõn^{rs} Tenem^{tts} and Lands besides their goods not alloweing them a 5th part or any part without any compassion to them or their posterity And the rather for that yor petion^{rs} haue lykewise due unto them for q^{r}tering of the Parlia^{ts} soldiers 800^{li} at least for which lykewise they crave satisfaction out of some of the aforesaid estates And they shall ever pray.

In the following August a further petition was sent up, from which the following are extracts :—

To the ho^{ble} House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of Coll. John Moore Member of the Honb^{le} House of Commons and the Well affected Inhabitants of the Nyne adiacent parishes unto Liverpoole together with many hundreds of Widdows and fatherless children whose husbands and fathers lost theire lives and estates when Prince Rupert with his barberous popish Army . . . .

Sheweth

That your pet^{rs} to theire uttmost abilitees resisted the greate Army of Prince Rupert when hee beleagered Liverpoole whereby they lost theire estates and many of yor pet^{rs} howses were burned others dispoyled and much wronged and many of yor pet^{rs} husbands were barberously massacred and the rest imprisoned and all despoyled and robbed of their estates to the value of 30 000^{li} and upwards . . . . . They prayed that their losses "may "be satisfyed out of the estates of the Earle of Derby" and the other gentlemen named in the Liverpool petition.

Returning to the subject of Lord Molyneux's Composition, we find that in January, 1649, the parishioners of Huyton, co. Lancaster, complain that no settlement is yet made in observance

of the order requiring Lord Molyneux to settle £357 a-year upon certain ministers, and beg that the Rectory of Huyton, worth £80 a-year, parcel of the said settlement, may be settled on William Bell, their vicar, a learned and painful divine, appointed by the Parliament, who has but £20 a-year, the parish consisting of above 1000 persons.

On the 15th of the same month Lord Molyneux is ordered to settle £357 a-year for the maintenance of the ministers of such places as the Committee for Compounding may appoint, and by such security as Mr. Rich shall think sufficient. And in pursuance of this order he settled £80 a-year out of Huyton, and £70 out of Altcar, both in the county of Lancaster, £100 a-year out of Shipley, and £47 out of Southover, both in the county of Sussex, and £60 out of Church Honeyborne, in the counties of Gloucester and Worcester.[27]

Having, on March 3rd, 1649, brought before the Committee the great debts wherewith his lands stand charged, on 6th of August his fine is reduced to £6710 8s. 8d., of which £3570 is to be settled on the ministers, leaving him to find £3140 8s. 8d.

27 By Indenture bearing date 17th January, 24 Charles [1648-9], Richard Lord Viscount Molyneux conveyed to Sir Ralph Ashton, Baronet, Alexander Rigby, John Moore, and William Ashhurst, Esquires, "members of the "honnoble House of Commons now serving in this present parliament "at Westminster," All that the Rectory or Parsonage impropriate of Huyton, in the county of Lancaster, together with all Tithes, &c., To have and to hold the said Rectory, &c., to them and their heirs, &c., Upon trust out of the yearly profits of the same to pay to the Minister of Huyton and his successors for ever the yearly rent of fourscore pounds, "for his and their better increase "and augmentation of livelyhood."

By Indenture made the day following, which recites the Indenture of the day previous, Ashton, Rigby, Moore, and Ashhurst reconvey the above premises to Lord Molyneux for a term of 1000 years, on condition of his paying yearly to the grantors and their heirs, &c., by equal half-yearly payments on 24th June and 25th November, the sum of fourscore pounds. Executed in duplicate, the copy bearing the signatures of Rigby, Moore, and Ashhurst is now among the Croxteth Muniments. (General Evidences, box 20, bundle 3, No. 18.) Rigby's signature is witnessed by Nehemiah Brettargh (of Aigburgh), Jo. Wood, Tho. Hawarden (of Upton in Prescot Parish); Moore's by Jo. ffoxe and Thomas Bootle; Ashhurst's by Brettargh, ffoxe, Hawarden, and Bootle.

He is to be restored to his estate compounded for, including the part fallen out of lease since his composition, and he is to receive the rents and profits of the above-named rectories till he make default in payment to the ministers, and the surplus of all moneys received since the date of his suspension is to be restored to him. These orders sent down from Goldsmiths' Hall, the County Committee in Lancashire seem to have been very loth to obey, and presently reported—on 17th January, 1651—that the lands are charged with £2000 for Lord Molyneux's two sisters and with £100 a-year for his brother Caryll, all of whom are Papists. Therefore, it is ordered that the payment of the £2000 be stayed till the ladies take the Oath of Abjuration, and that if Caryll is a Papist his annuity is to be sequestrated.

On 30th July, Lord Molyneux is ordered to shew cause why he does not pay to the Committee the £100 a year due to Caryll and the £1000 due to each of his sisters, all of them being Papists.

To this Lord Molyneux replies (by Edward Rich, his counsel), on 31st December, that the annuity to Caryll, secured on Sefton manor, was bought in by him in 1640, and that he compounded for the said manor without any allowance therefor.

In January, 1652, he begs a hearing touching the expiration of leases made to tenants formerly sequestered, on account of the recusancy of the tenants, of which, owing to the sequestration, he could not get possession, though he had compounded for them, and which the County Committee were threatening to seize unless he procured a discharge. Hearing granted: rents received in the meantime to be restored.[28]

[28] The names of the tenants, which may be of some interest, are as follows:—Richard Leyland, of Crosby; Mr. Robert Molyneux, of Melling (called Fazakerley House); Richard Blundell, of Ince Blundell; Nicholas Shepheard, and William Melling, and Richard Parr, of Sephton; Widow

In June, 1654, he was lying sick at his house in Lancashire, where his oath had to be taken as to certain matters in connection with his Sussex estate.

In October, 1652, the County Committee were still refusing to hand over the surplus received since 24th December, 1649, pretending that they had accounted for it, and had no funds out of which to satisfy such a claim. And, as far as one can gather from the papers, which are very voluminous, neither of these points was settled in the lifetime of the unfortunate compounder, if at all.

On the 1st of December, 1652, Lord Molyneux petitions the Committee for relief on the Articles of War, complaining that he is not permitted to compound for several parts of his estate, viz. :—The Town and Lordship of Liverpool, with its right of passage over the Mersey, together with Mills and several other profits, for which he paid a fee-farm rent to the late King, of £14 a year; the office of Master Forester of the late King's Forest and Park of West Derby; the Stewardships of Salford and West Derby; the office of Constable of Liverpool Castle and lands belonging thereto, wherein he had an estate of inheritance; the Stewardships of Blackburnshire, Tottington, and Clitheroe; the Butlership of the County Palatine of Lancaster; and the Admiralship of the great part of Lancashire, wherein he has an estate for life. Whereupon, it

Cople, of Thornton; William Hesketh, of Derby; Thomas Hodgson, of Euxton; Cicely Woods, of Croxteth Park; Thomas Bulloyne, of Maghull; Hugh Aspinall, of Aighton "for the fox house in Male"; Anthony Livesay, of Altcar; Mr. Formby, for a tenement in Altcar; James Woosey, of Altcar; George Aspinall, of Kirkby. Some time previously, namely in March, 1651, an inquiry into these matters was held at Preston, when the following were examined :—John Brianson, of Sephton, bailiff to Lord Molyneux; Edmund Raphson, the same; Cuthbert Halsall, of Croxteth, servant to his lordship; Thomas Bulloyne, of Maghull; Edward Goare, bailiff for his lordship; Robert Norris, the same; William Hesketh, of Derby; Thomas Hodgson, of Euxton; Thomas Bowten, of Aughton; and William Wright, of Euxton, bailiff to Lord Molyneux.

was ordered, that the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents state the case, and whether Lord Molyneux has forfeited the benefit of his Articles either by omission of anything he should have performed, or by having a hand in any hostilities or new design against the Parliament.

Through the eight weary years during which these proceedings "dragged their slow length along," Lord Molyneux does not appear to have been altogether a free man, nor yet always in captivity. We have seen that he was taken prisoner at Ludlow, in May, 1646, and that he was next month in Lancashire, preparing to go to London to compound for his estates. Then we hear of his four horses being seized by the County Committee in Sussex. Whether he was again apprehended, or for what cause, does not appear, but in 1648 it was ordered by the Council, "That no prisoners "of quality should any more be brought to "London, because, as Lord Molyneux, who was "discovered and taken at Islington near London, "had been brought thither, the apprentices having "risen, followed the coach, and were like to have "rescued him from the guards."

In July 1648, whether in custody or not, Lord Molyneux seems to have contemplated claiming his betrothed wife, for the Case respecting his marriage was laid before counsel, no doubt by his orders, about this time, the Opinion signed Arthur Ducke being dated the 12th of this month.

What steps he may have taken to claim his bride upon receiving the opinion that the marriage was a good one, and that there was "noe remedie att "law to avoid itt or to dissolve itt till death," do not appear. More than two years later, however, he had not abandoned all hope of bringing the affair to a happy issue, for in a report of the day's proceedings of the Council of State, under date

16th October, 1650 (*Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for year 1650), we read that an "Order "[was made] upon the petition of Richard Viscount "Molineux, that he have liberty to send to the "Isle of Man, two persons approved by Col. Birch, "Governor of Liverpool, to demand the answer of "Mary Stanley, one of the daughters of the Earl "of Derby, concerning her consent in a case of "marriage in the petition mentioned, with which "answer only they are to return, and to do no "other business there."

Whether Lord Molyneux was in actual custody at this time does not appear, but in March, $165\frac{0}{1}$, he was apparently again apprehended; for, in the Moore Collection of MSS. (transcripts of which are in possession of this Society), there is a letter from one Richard Worsley, at Liverpool (who seems to have been the confidential business man of the Moores of Bank Hall), dated 18th March, 1650, addressed "To the Worp. Edward Moore "Esq. at his chambers in Grayse Inn," in which he says :—

Here is great newes in Leverpoole this day, wch in briefe is thus my Lord Mollineux was yesterday brought Prisoner to the towne wth most of his gentlemen & horses as also Mr Skaysbricke Mr Wm Ashurst & Mr John Ashurst was sent for but beinge not at home eskaped Mr Alex: Greene in Liv̄poole hath a guard sett on him wth many others, they must goe very speedily to Chester there was also a priest taken: now the case [cause] of the takeinge theise gentlemen is as is reported this, there was a packett of letters intercepted, wherein most of the gent: of this Countrey that were of the old modell, had a plott with the Earle of Darby, that hee should have come over and landed at fformeby wth an army & they rayseinge forces both in Lanc: & Cheshyre would have joyn'd wth him, uppon good ffryday to have taken this towne and the Castle & soe all had been cleere theire owne & to have march't uppon the backe of o^{r} Army in Scotland this is reported to have beene their plott but it hath pleased god to dissipate it but the truth wee shall here hereafter.

Collins, in his *Baronetage*, says that Lord

Molyneux and his brother Caryll were present at the battle of Worcester, fought on the 3rd September, 1651. In the case of our hero this is hardly likely to have been the case; for, as we have seen, he was at this very time still endeavouring to get more favourable terms from the Committee for Compounding Delinquents' Estates, and, on the 17th August in this year, the Council of State granted a license "for Lord Molineux to pass "with his horses and servants from Islington "to London."[29]

What answer Lady Mary Stanley sent back by the special messengers despatched to the Isle of Man, in July, 1650, we do not know; but that the marriage between her and Lord Molyneux was never consummated is a matter of history. The causes which had led to the non-fulfilment of the youthful contract are not given in the statement, nor has anything been found among the Croxteth papers to throw further light on this subject. But it is evident the marriage never was "perfected," though Sir William Dugdale, acting, no doubt, according to the strict law of the time, considered it an accomplished fact, for he recorded the alliance at his visitation, and it so stands in Burke's pedigree of Stanley in the modern Peerage.

In his answer to the fourth question submitted to him, Counsel would seem to say that the objection to perfecting the marriage proceeded from the young lady's mother—the illustrious but strong-willed and imperious Charlotte de la Trémoille, Countess of Derby, whose name was perhaps used owing to the absence of the Earl in the Isle of Man.

Whatever may have been the Earl's feelings towards Lord Molyneux, or what the cause which

[29] *Calendar of State Papers*, for 1651, p. 531.

prevented the consummation of the latter's marriage with his favourite daughter, it is quite certain that it was never perfected, and that both Lord Molyneux and Lady Mary Stanley married elsewhere. This he was the first to do; and at Croxteth there is a deed, bearing date 27th October, 1652, by which Lord Molyneux, in contemplation of his intended marriage with the Lady Frances Seymour, eldest daughter of William, Marquess of Hertford, (on whom the restored Dukedom of Somerset was afterwards conferred), by his second wife Frances, sister of the Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general, settles lands in Lancashire on his intended wife, to whom he was privately married the day following, at Essex House.

Thomas Hawarden, of Upton, in the parish of Prescot, and William Tempest, of Wigan, gentlemen, are the Trustees named in the Settlement, the signature of Lord Molyneux to which (almost illegible) is witnessed by Orlando Bridgeman, Tho. Gasse, Jo. Wood, Jo. Alchorn, and Edw. Alchorn. The lady's portion was £8,000, "to be paid on or "before marriage." Lands in Sussex, the Caryll inheritance, should also have been settled on her, but were not, as appears by a recital in a subsequent deed, dated 20th September, 1654, by which Frances Dowager Viscountess Molyneux agrees to accept £1500 a-year from her brother-in-law Caryll, then Lord Molyneux, in lieu of her jointure, and releases her claim to the lands in Sussex, in order that they may be sold, and the mortgage of £7500 thereon to John Bedell, Esq., paid off, and any balance remaining devoted to discharging debts of her late husband secured on lands in Lancashire which had been settled upon her.

In the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for the year 1652, under date November 2, there is printed

a letter from H.H. to Lady Molyneux, which runs as follows :—

I never stood so much in need of a pardon as the imprudence in venturing on the enclosed on so short a warning has reduced me to.

'Twas 10 o'clock last night before my thoughts were fired with an ambition of this nature, and I could not rest till I had arrived at what you see. I need not have told you this, for if you have the patience to read it, you will discern it to be the unadvised production of a few minutes. But since all the deliberation in the world can never furnish me with sacrifices suitable to your merits and my devotion, let your acceptance give life, if not to the lines, to their author, who not only begs your own pardon but even your intercession for that of your noble lord.

The letter encloses an ode, in the inflated style characteristic of the time, entitled:—

AN EPITHALAMIUM ON THE HAPPY MARRIAGE OF LADY FRANCES SEYMOUR AND LORD MOLINEUX, PRIVATELY SOLEMNISED AT ESSEX HOUSE, OCTOBER 28, 1652.

1.

Now when the royal blood is voted down,
And 'tis thought dangerous to be near a crown,
When these alliances true nobles knit
Threaten the commonwealth as if 'twould split,
When Seymour does with Molineux entwine,
Two of the greatest names unite and join,
'Twas wisely done to debar common eyes
From violating the solemnities;
'Twas wisely done to hedge those glories in
Which they who see irreverently sin.

2.

'Twas well it was not heard at Westminster,
The bans had surely been forbidden there;
But 'tis too late now; the conjunction's past,
And its most happy influence shall last.
Was it not hence that Lilly did foresee
Such peril to the State? O! no, for he

Converses only with a lower sphere,
Sees no such glories as we mention here;
His stars are governed and obscured by these,
For if his be stars, these are deities.

3.

Let us erect an altar then, and pay
Such offerings as become us, and the day:
They must not be wishes of happiness,
For you, great pair, already do possess,
Nay are so much, so true essential bliss,
That 'tis by you we come to know what 'tis,
And when hereafter we wish any two
Happy to th' height, must wish them such as you.
But for ourselves, since you're above 't, we may
Wish, and although not for, yet to you, pray.

4.

True honour, noble love, are drawing on,
And but for your protection, would be gone.
Therefore vouchsafe to bless this mortal state
(Though higher glories do your charge await),
Till it be grown in fashion to be good.
Then leave us some examples of your blood,
Who may, while they to noblest things aspire,
Confess their native glorious active fire
Kindled from Molineux' and Seymour's breast,
Two names the greatest, and of both the best.

The young couple probably soon afterwards went down to live at Sefton and Croxteth, as we read in the *Note Book* of their neighbour, William Blundell, of Crosby—"The course, as it is now used, upon "the marshes of Great and Little Crosby, was "stooped out by me, A.D. 1654, at the request of "Richard, Lord Molyneux."[30] One is glad to

[30] *A Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 222.

think that here in the quiet country the hunted Recusant and Royalist, after hardships endured in the "tented field," and long-torturing suspense in the Sequestration Court, could give himself up to the enjoyment of field sports in the company of his tenants, friends, and family connections. Unfortunately the wedded bliss of the newly-married pair was but short lived, and they left no "examples of their "blood" to prove the prowess and virtues of their progenitors. In the oft-quoted *Royalist Composition Papers* is an "Affidavit of Nicholas Fazakerly, "of Kirkby, gent., aged 34, sworn 28th December, "1654:—That he knew Richard, Lord Viscount "Molyneux, ever since he could remember, and "that Lord Molyneux died about of July (1654), "as he deponent believed, having spoken with "several of this deponent's fellow-servants who "were at the burial (as they informed him) he him-"self then being in London upon some occasions, "and further that he knew Caryll, then Lord Moly-"neux, and that he was the reputed brother and "next heir to the said Richard deceased. And that "he was the better able to depose the same for he "had been a servant of the said Richard, Lord "Molyneux, for 14 years or thereabouts before "his death. And he further deposed that within a "fortnight then last past he had seen Dame Frances, "the widow and relict of the said Richard, Lord "Molyneux, who had some discourse with the "deponent, whereupon she declared herself before "him and others that she was not with child." The parish registers at Sefton record the Cavalier's burial there in 1654—"Richard Lord Viscount "Mollynex of Sefton, 2 July."

His widow subsequently became the third wife of the Lord Treasurer Southampton, and after his death married to her third husband, Conyers D'Arcy, second Earl of Holderness of that line.

Pretty much about the time that Frances Dowager Viscountess Molyneux and her brother-in-law Caryll were giving so much employment to the conveyancers, as we have previously seen, the Lady Henrietta Maria (commonly called Mary) Stanley gave her hand in marriage to William Wentworth, second Earl of Stafford, K.G., to whom she was united on the 27th of September, 1654, and leaving no issue, died on the 27th of December, 1685.

Perhaps she had loved our hero all along, and not till he was laid to his rest at Sefton felt free to wed another. Who can tell ?

PLACE NAMES IN THE HUNDRED OF WIRRAL.

By Wm. Fergusson Irvine.

Read 17th November, 1892.

"THE study of local names can as yet hardly claim the dignity of a science. With the exception of Ernst Förstemann, those who have written on the subject have too often been content to compile collections of 'things not generally 'known,' without attempting either to systemize the facts which they have brought together or to deduce any general principles which might serve to guide the student in his researches.

"There are few subjects, perhaps, in which such numerous dangers beset the inquirer. The patent blunders and the absurdly fanciful explanations of etymologists have become a by-word. It may be well, therefore, to clear the way for a scientific treatment of the subject by the suggestion of a few obvious rules which should be constantly kept in view while attempting the investigation of the meaning of ancient names.

"The fundamental principle to be borne in mind is an axiom which alone makes the study of local names possible, and this axiom asserts that local names are in no case arbitrary sounds. They are always ancient *words*, or fragments of ancient words—each of them in short constituting the

earliest chapter in the local history of the PLACES to which they severally refer.

"Assuming therefore as axiomatic the significancy of local names, it need hardly be said that in endeavouring to detect the meaning of a geographical name, the first requisite is to discover the language from which the name has been derived. The choice mostly lies within narrow limits—geographical and historical considerations generally confining our choice to the three or four languages which may have been vernacular in the region to which the name belongs. No interpretation of a name can be admitted, however seemingly appropriate, until we have first satisfied ourselves of the historical possibility, not to say probability, of the proposed etymology.

"For example, Lambeth is a Saxon name, meaning the loam hithe, or muddy landing place. We must not, as a *Saturday Reviewer* has amusingly observed, plume ourselves on the discovery that *lama* is a Mongolian term for a chief priest, and *beth* a Semitic word for a house, and thus interpret the name of the place where the primate lives as the 'house of the chief priest.'" [1]

Or, to quote a local example, we must not be led away, as a recent writer has been, in the derivation of Birkenhead, by the fact that there is an Arabic word, *birket*, meaning a pool. Or, instead of accepting the more or less prosaic etymology of Hargrave, from the Old-English words meaning "a grey ditch," float into the realms of esoteric Bhuddism and derive it from a Hindoo word meaning "a sacred grove."

While on this subject, it may be as well to draw your attention to the amusing fact that in a recently published memoir of Birkenhead, we find that Holt

[1] Canon Taylor's *Words and Places*, p. 311 in fourth edition.

Hill (so named, we had always understood, from the *holt* or wood that till recent years clothed its summit) is in reality so called because "the army "of Cromwell *(sic)* was called to *halt* upon this "eminence." I may add that the name Holt Hill occurs in a document dated 1327.

The next thing to do, I take it, is to ascertain, so far as possible, the earliest documentary form of the name. This having been done, it remains to interpret the name which has been thus recovered. To do this with success requires a knowledge of the ancient grammatical structure and the laws of composition which prevail in the language in which the name is significant—the relative position, for instance, of adjective and substantive, and the usage of prepositions and formative particle.

A slight knowledge, at all events, of the grammatical construction of the Celtic and Teutonic languages is absolutely essential, to prevent one from being led into all sorts of errors.

Having arrived at a probable interpretation of the name in question, we must proceed to test the result. If the name be topographic or descriptive, we must ascertain if it conforms to the physical features of the spot; if, on the other hand, the name be historic in its character, we must satisfy ourselves as to the historic possibility of its bestowal.

I am extremely conscious of my shortcomings in the matter of familiarity with the ancient languages which go to make up our place names, but I think, on the other hand, that I can lay claim to a very fair knowledge of the country-side with which I hope to deal to-night. I do not think there are many field-paths and certainly no roads in North Wirral over which I have not frequently walked, and there are few if any fields in the same district with the names of which I am not familiar; so

where I come short in the one case, I trust that the information which I am able to bring to bear on the other hand will prevent the scale being turned too much against me.

Canon Isaac Taylor remarks somewhere on the wonderful vitality of the original forms in place-names; and adds that they, of all words in a language, are least liable to change. I have been very much impressed with this fact of late, and I am convinced that the difference in the pronunciation of local names between that of a genuine native of Wirral to-day and one living at the time of the Norman conquest would be of the most trifling description.

The earliest document which refers in detail to Wirral is *The Domesday Survey*—date about 1086—and throughout this paper I shall give the Domesday readings whenever they occur. Following on these, I shall quote from that splendid series of documents published by the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records—*The Plea and Recognizance Rolls of Chester*. Though these printed books are not so reliable as original documents, yet for practical purposes I think we may accept their readings; in the hundreds of documents referring to Wirral, that they include, I have only been able to detect two or three trifling errors.

But to approach more closely the subject of this evening's paper.

The Hundred of Wirral is, as you all know, that tongue or promontory of land bounded on the north by the Irish sea and on the east and west by the rivers Mersey and Dee, and joining the rest of Cheshire on the south. It is, roughly speaking, eighteen miles long by seven broad; the coast line is regular, except on the eastern side, where it is broken by several pools, which run for some distance into the land.

We have in the place-names of Wirral traces of the settlement of at least three different races—the Briton, the English, and the Norse. Its peculiar position on the sea-coast makes it in several ways remarkable, and there is special interest attaching to its place-names. Canon Isaac Taylor, in a letter which I recently received from him, says, "I doubt "if there is any district in England more likely to "yield valuable results," and in his well-known book, *Words and Places*, he devotes some space to dealing with Wirral.

Perhaps the simplest plan to adopt to-night will be to divide the names, so far as is possible, under the three heads—British, English (or Anglo-Saxon) and Norse. I may point out that several writers on this subject have erroneously spoken of this third occupation as Danish. It was not; the Norwegians, though closely allied, were quite distinct from the Danes, who attacked the eastern coast.

Coming then to the first class, we find, as we might expect, that the names of the two streams in the Hundred can undoubtedly claim a British ancestry.

The Fender; a name which is applied both to that sluggish stream which, rising in Newton Carr, flows into Wallasey Pool, and to the stream which, rising beyond Prenton, flows into the same pool.

I take it that the second syllable of this word is the Cymric *dwr*, meaning water, though I am at a loss to account for the first syllable.

It may be of interest to note that "fender" has become in Wirral a common noun, and the farmers in Moreton and Bidston call all the ditches or drains which run into the central stream "fenders," and I have seen it used in a legal document of this century, where, in speaking of Wallasey Marsh, the document stated that, at high tide (before the docks were made), the water "backed up in the

"fenders or ditches"; and in the Court Rolls of Bidston Manor, frequent mention is made of so-and-so being fined for not keeping his fenders clear of mud, etc.

While still on the subject of these two streams, it may be as well to state that I have never discovered the least grounds for the name Birket being applied to either of them. Though the name Fender constantly occurs, I have never once met with the name Birket in any old documents, and I have been told over and over again by farmers in The Meols and Moreton that they never heard it called anything but Fender until within the last few years, and to this day none of the natives would ever call either stream the Birket.

The other stream dignified by bearing a name forms part of the boundary between Wirral and Broxton — namely, the Gowy, a still more undoubtedly British name, being simply the Cymric word *gwy*, meaning water.

Of place-names, we may probably with safety head our list with Landican *(Domesday Book, Landechene;* fourteenth century documents, *Landecon, Lancan*, and *Lancon)*, and derive the first syllable, without much fear of contradiction, from the Cymric *llan*—an enclosure, later, a church. If the second half of the word contain the name of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, I must leave that discovery to some student of British saints.

Tranmere (in thirteenth century documents *Tranmull, Tranmoll, and Tranmoel):* the word standing, with very little alteration, for its original British form, *Tre-yn-moel*, the town on the hill,—a particularly good description of that salubrious neighbourhood. Coming in by train from Chester some evenings ago, as I passed under Tranmere I looked up and saw the cluster of houses at the top of the hill looming out against the evening

sky, and felt the singular appropriateness of the name.

Poole: from the Welsh *pwl*, whenever it occurs (and we have at least two Pooles in Wirral) is unanimously accepted as Celtic by all the leading writers on the subject.

We next come to an interesting trio—Liscard, Seacombe, and Poolton, the three townships in Wallasey parish—all of which can undoubtedly claim a Celtic origin, a fact of no little interest, as corroborating the derivation of Wallasey from the Old English *Wealas-ieg*, the Welshman's or Briton's island, to which I shall refer later on.

Liscard: From the Gadhelic word *lis*—an earthen fort (in Ireland the word *lis* enters into the composition of no fewer than 300 place-names). Liskeard in Cornwall (notice the county, where the Celtic element is so strong) is probably the same name, the mediæval spelling of both places being usually Liskert, Liscart, or Liskerret, though the Wirral one was sometimes spelt Liskirk and Liscark, which doubtless gave rise to the fable recounted by Robinson of the Lees Kirk.

Seacombe: Canon Isaac Taylor says—"The "word *cwm* is frequently used in Wales, where it "denotes a cup-shaped depression in the hills. "This word, in its Saxonised form, often occurs in "English local names, especially in those counties "where the Celtic element is strong, thus in "Devonshire we have Ilfracombe, Yarcombe, etc." (*Words and Places*, p. 151.)

It may be interesting here to point out that in Cheshire a brewing vat is called a *combe*, or *coom*, and as many of our household words—such as basket, crock, kiln, cradle, etc.—are borrowed from the British, this may be another example.

Poolton is a compound of the Cymric word *pwl* and the English *ton*.

There is also the other POOLTON, in Brombro' parish, usually called Poolton Spittle.

We now approach more debateable ground, and I would first of all deal with that much-discussed township of NOCTORUM.

I think it will not be overstating the case to say that more shots have been made at the derivation of this word than of all the other place-names in Wirral put together, and so far as my experience goes, I have never heard one that could be described as even remotely probable.

The first difficulty to most people, after they have got over the preliminary stage of imagining it to be the genitive plural of some second declension Latin word, is when a better-informed friend remarks, "Ah! but you must remember *Domesday Book* calls it Chenoterie" (being always careful to pronounce the *ch* soft), and that usually brings the discussion to a close.

But let us hazard a suggestion. First of all, from a careful examination of *Domesday Book*, it appears that the scribes, in Cheshire and Lancashire at all events, pronounced the *ch* like our *k*, or rather, when they wanted to signify the hard *c*, or *k*, they wrote *ch*,[2] so we at once find at least a distant resemblance to Noctorum in Kenoterie. Now to explain away the termination. I think there are reasonable grounds for believing that an error has been made here by the scribes, and this being so, I would suggest the following explanation. As you are no doubt aware, the *Domesday Book* is believed to have been prepared from reports sent in by various commissioners all over the country, and the man who had to do Wirral may not have been a very brilliant caligraphist, and the final curl that he gave when

[2] *e.g.*, *Chenthe* for Kent, *Pichetone* for Picton, *Chenulveslei* for Knowsley, *Chingslie* for Kingsley, etc.

writing Kenoterum, and which he intended for a contraction for the final *m* or *um*, was read by the scribe at head quarters, who prepared the fair copy, as *ie*, and hence all the trouble.

But whether my somewhat fanciful explanation be the correct one or not, it is quite clear that if the *Domesday* folk called the place Chenoterie, no one else ever did; for, from 1272—when, in a document preserved at Eaton, it is written Knocttyrum—to Kelly's *Directory* for 1892, where it figures as Noctorum, I have never seen (allowing for slight variations in spelling) a single instance where any substantial alteration has occurred in the name.

And now, having attempted to clear away the perplexities of the *Domesday Book* reading, I would suggest as a possible derivation, the two Erse words *knock*, a hill, and *druim* (modern Irish, *drum)*, a ridge; and certainly one could not wish for a better description of Noctorum to-day than the Hill-ridge.

Another disputed point is Dove Spit. I am indebted to Mr. Cox for the suggestion that this is from the Cymric *du*—black, and that it refers to the black vegetable bed, commonly called the Submarine Forest, which is a conspicuous feature of the spot. If this be the case, it should be a valuable point in the apparently interminable discussion as to the origin and age of this deposit. For my own part, however, it seems to me more likely that it should be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *dúfan*, to plunge into, and is akin to our word deep and our verb to dive.

Carlet, in Eastham parish, is probably from the word *caer*, which, from meaning a hill fort, came to be applied to the hill itself.

Arrowe is a puzzle. Canon Taylor classifies it as a Celtic word when applied to rivers, and says that it has the sense of "swift"; and though there

is a stream called the Arrowe brook running through the township, I do not think it is of sufficient importance to have received a name and then given it to the village; it seems more probable that the stream took its name from the township. In a document in my possession, however, (for which I am indebted to Mr. Gregson,) dated 1712, but which recites a much earlier document, the name is spelt Arwall; the termination of which is Norse, from *velle*, a house; and this is made all the more probable by the close proximity of Thingwall and Greasby. I should mention, however, on the other hand, that in other and earlier documents it is spelt Arwe, and therefore, probably, is connected with the Welsh verb *Aru*, to plough.

Brimstage I am also inclined to group as Celtic, though it may possibly be a hybrid; the early spelling is Brynstath, Brunstath, and Brynston. I take the first syllable to be the Celtic *bryn*, a hill. The comparatively elevated position of the village would certainly seem to support such a derivation.

There may be other place names in the Hundred which can claim a British origin, but the above seem to form a group which it does not require any great stretch of the imagination to accept as Celtic; and having arrived at this point, it may be well to draw a few conclusions from the results of our investigation.

In the first place, then, from the fact that such comparatively obscure and unimportant spots as Landican, Noctorum, Carlet, Tranmere, the Pooles and Pooltons, Liscard, and Seacombe bear British names, we may, I think, fairly conclude that Wirral during the British period, so far from being an uninhabited waste, must have been very fairly peopled and cultivated. And,

secondly, from the fact that these names have survived while the rest have been lost, we may conclude that the portions where the Celtic names occur were those parts which suffered least at the English invasion; and as the invaders would naturally make for the best cultivated and richer spots, it may fairly be argued that the Mersey side of the Wirral was the less attractive, for it is a noteworthy fact that all these Celtic names occur within a mile or two of the Mersey Bank, and *none* on the Dee side. The same strong preference for that side was evinced, as we shall see, by the Norse invaders in their turn.[3]

To come, then, to the English invasion. In Wirral, as in most parts of England, a large majority of the place-names date from this time.

Shortly after Æthelfrith's victory at Chester in 613, Wirral must have been colonized by the victorious Northumbrians, and from that date until the advent of the Norsemen, early in the ninth century, the English probably held it in comparative quietness; and through these long years, bit by bit, the old Celtic names would die out, as the British serfs lost more and more their nationality, and be replaced by the new names given by the new lords of the soil.

One of the most interesting tasks, to my mind, is to try and trace from the names on the map the spread of our English forefathers, and I think that we can at least make out their first footprints in this neighbourhood, to a certain extent.

From the fact that they christened the old Wirral "Willaston Hundred," we may, I think, conclude that their first settlement took place in that village,

3 Since reading the paper I have met with the undoubtedly British name Knokyn in a thirteenth century deed, applied to a hillock lying on the boundary between Irby and Thurstaston.

a conclusion which is strongly supported by the position of Sutton and Eastham. For from Willaston as a centre, the early colonists threw out a branch station towards the east and called it the East ham, from which they extended their borders in a southerly direction to Sutton. With their first settlements towards the Mersey bank, they would naturally regard that as their front, and an extension to the rear is appropriately named Hinderton. To this primitive period, when there was practically but the one settlement, and the various appendages did not need to be distinguished from similar appendages belonging to a neighbouring settlement, we may relegate the establishing of Burton, or the Rick yard, as we should call it, which would be simply an outlying homestead from the parent settlement.

It is possible that we may also put down, as belonging to the same period, Chorleton,—a name which has scarcely altered at all from its original form, Ceórla-tun, the *village of the churls or peasants*—and the Ley, a village a mile from Chorleton, which means *the clearing*, afterwards *pasture*.

But that the colonists had dangers to meet in their early enterprise, we find from Stoke, or the stockaded place, which, situated as it was, on the borders of the wild meres and fens of Ince and Frodsham, would need the protection of its fortifications against the wild beasts, which made their lair in the surrounding waste, if not against the unsubdued Britons, who may still have held the marsh-bound islands of Ince, Elton and Thornton.

It is possible also that Capenhurst may represent the common brushwood or thicket where the early settlers reared the juicy capon. And, finally, Lydiate—*the gate of the enclosure*—is certainly close enough to Willaston to have marked the entrance

into the common enclosure into which the early settlers would drive their cattle for safety.

But having rapidly sketched this somewhat fanciful picture, let us examine the names in detail.

Willaston (*Wylaston*, 1325, frequently spelt *Willaueston*) probably contains the family name of the first settler in Wirral, just as an American squatter to-day might call his clearing and log-hut Jonestown or Brownsville, should he happen to rejoice in the distinguished patronymic of Jones or Brown.

Sutton (*Domesday Book*, *Sudtone*) and Eastham (*Domesday Book*, *Estham*) bear their meanings on their faces.

Stoke, though frequently a stockaded place, a derivation which I think likely in the case of the Wirral Stoke, may also come from the simple fact that a stock or stump of a tree, remarkable for some trivial reason, struck the fancy of the early colonist.

Capenhurst would, without a question, fall into the category of pure English names, were it not for *Domesday Book's* remarkable spelling, viz., *Capelles*. I am inclined to think that this again must be an error on the part of the copyist, as in a large number of documents, transcripts of which I have seen, between the dates 1309 and 1350, the name is spelt Capenhurst, without a single variation. Anglo-Saxon, *Capun* = a *capon*, *hyrst* = a *hurst copse or wood*. The word *hyrst* most frequently occurs in compounds; *e.g.*, *knuthyrst*, *æschyrst*.

Both Mollingtons are mentioned in *Domesday* as *Molintone*; fourteenth century, *Molynton* and *Mulynton*, the village of the family of the Molls.

Great and Little Saughall (*Domesday Book*, *Salhare;* thirteenth century, *Salghal*), near Chester. Saughall = the Hall (usually a stone building, as

opposed to a wooden one) of the willows. *Saugh* is still used in the South of Scotland for a willow.

Puddington (*Domesday Book*, *Potitone*; fourteenth century, *Podynton*) is probably the *ton* of the *ing* or family of the Pudds or Podds; doubtless a distinguished English family, though not conspicuous for the euphony of its name.

Leighton *(Domesday Book*, *Lestone;* fourteenth century documents, *Leychtone*, *Legherton* and *Leghton).*

Hargrave *(Domesday Book*, *Haregrave;* 1300, *Hargrave):* from *Hara* and *graf*, the hoar or grey ditch. The *graf*, from meaning the ditch which marked the boundary of a piece of land, came to mean the piece of land so marked off.

Stanney *(Domesday Book*, *Stannei;* 1278, *Staney):* the stony or rocky island.

Chorleton: *Céorla-tun*, the village of the peasants.

Lydiate: *Lid*, an enclosure; *gaet*, a gate.

Hinderton: *hinder*, adv., back, or further side of, behind, down.

Ledsham *(Domesday Book*, *Leuedesham;* 1364, *Leuedesham).* It is interesting to note that in *Domesday Book*, the English owners of the neighbouring manors of Prenton and Barnston were Leuvede and Leuiett, possibly descendants of one of the early Northumbrian colonists, who planted the "ham" or home town of his family in the heart of Wirral, and called his land after his own name.

Going further up the Wirral, we find English settlements at—

Storeton (*Domesday Book*, *Storetune*). I am at a loss to suggest a derivation for this, unless it be connected with a M.E. word—*stoor*, provisions.

Bebington, the village of the family of the Bebs.

Prenton (*Domesday Book*, *Prestune;* thirteenth century *Prentune*).

Woodchurch: Anglo-Saxon, *Wudu*, wood. The church in the wood.

Oxton: usually spelt in early documents *Oxon*. Is this the town of the oxen? I doubt it, because why should one village more than another be distinguished by its oxen. I suspect rather that we have here a corruption or adaptation of some British name.

Claughton. Canon Taylor, when speaking of Claughton in Yorkshire, derives it from an Erse word *cloch*, a stone, more particularly a boundary stone.

The early forms of the word are Claghton,[4] Claighton, and Clayton, and I wrote to Canon Taylor suggesting that it meant the clay-town, and pointing out that there were large beds of particularly stiff boulder clay in the township—just the kind of stuff that would impress itself on the mind of the early settler as he struggled through it behind his plough. In reply, Canon Taylor said—"Claughton must be "a modern irregular spelling. A.S. *clæg*, clay, "would normally make *claigh* in M.E., but not "*claugh; augh* would come from *éat*, or *ât;* how- "ever, your spelling, Claighton, makes Clay-ton "the probable meaning."

Woolton: the town of the wolves, or the wool.

Bidston (earliest form, Byddeston, 1272): I am strongly of the opinion that this is simply Beda's or Bidda's-ton. Father Dallow suggests that since a stone with a Runic inscription was found at Overchurch—which Runic inscription one authority has read to contain the verb, *Biddan, to pray*—that therefore it is probable that this stone was once set up on Bidston Hill, and the village resting at its foot obtained the name of the Bidding Stone. The objection to this is that the Anglo-

4 *Clocton* in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*, 1272.

Saxon form would be *biddende-stán*, so that to obtain Bidston it would be necessary to elide a very important syllable. Besides this, there is not the slightest proof and very little probability that the stone in question ever was in Bidston parish.

Wallasey, as mentioned above, is the Britons' or foreigners' isle, from the Anglo-Saxon Wealasîeg. It is also an interesting example of the vitality of the old names. The Norse invasion and colonization, though it gave this place a new name—Kirkby—never quite eradicated the old one; and in due time the new name sank into disuse, and the old one has been once more reinstated. That Wallasey was ever a complete island is, of course, not the case; but to all intents and purposes it was, the only access being by the low-lying band of sandhills running between it and Meols.

Saughall-Massey, mentioned in *Domesday Book*, I have no doubt, as *Salghal* (and in support of this view I would direct attention to Mr. Hance's remarks, in his paper on the Bennets of Saughall-Massey in our *Transactions*, vol. xxxviii), seems to have been the centre of a smaller original settlement in North Wirral, since we have names denoting relative position occurring here again in Upton and Newton, and possibly Larton or the lower town, though this latter may refer to Greasby and Frankby.

With Overchurch and Moreton, two places to which I shall refer again immediately, I think we may close our list of English place names.

Wirral during the English times must have been a fairly flourishing and certainly populous neighbourhood; though the fact that Chester lay a waste for so long during this time, would naturally take away that source of strength and wealth. Wirral does not seem to have suffered from a lack of ghostly comfort. North Wirral enjoyed

certainly four churches—Woodchurch, Overchurch, and the two which, in the Norsemen's eyes, gave the distinctive features to the settlements at the extreme corners of the Wirral, and led them to call both places Kirkby or Churchtown, though for distinction's sake they named the one West Kirkby and the other Kirkby in Walley. Bromborough also seems to have been possessed of a church at a very early period, making five churches at least, within a comparatively small area, and doubtless the rest of Wirral was equally well supplied.

But perhaps the most interesting Anglo-Saxon names in North Wirral are those of the contiguous parish and township of Overchurch and Moreton, the one meaning *the church on the shore*, from Anglo-Saxon *ofer*, a shore, and *cirice*, a church; and the other *the village on the lake*, from Anglo-Saxon *mere*, a lake, and *ton*, a town.

That the land lying between Moreton and Leasowe Castle on the one hand, and Moreton and Great Meols on the other, was at one time a marsh, is a fact that must be patent to any observant person. But it is more than this that I wish to prove. All the evidence seems to point to there having been a shallow lake, or possibly tidal lagoon, covering this area, and that it must have existed quite down into the historic period, possibly almost until the Norman Conquest.

Roughly speaking, the piece of land in question lies north and south, though mostly north, of the Hoylake railway line between Docks and Great Meols stations. The lake covered all Bidston Moss right up to where Wallasey slopes commence to rise, leaving, as almost an island, the site of what is now Leasowe Castle, then probably a low mound capped by a British earthwork; it included all the low lying leasowes as far out as the line of sand hills that girdled

the coast, probably a mile or more to seaward of the present embankment, and spread westward as far as Great Meols, which was probably little more than a patch of sand hills rising out of the mere and backed by the sea. From Great Meols the lake seems to have covered all the flat ground as far as the foot of Grange Hill. The inland shore of the lake appears to have been bounded by the rising ground of Frankby and Greasby, and the slighter rises of Saughall Massey and Moreton villages. A few hundred yards to the east of Moreton the lake seems to have taken a turn inland, and probably ran up the valley of the Fender, between Bidston Hill and Overchurch, as far as the Ford Bridge.

All the land included in the above outline lies very low, none of it being more than 5 feet above, and 3,000 acres of it being several feet *below* the level of high tides. Such a lake would account for the two otherwise inexplicable names of the "Town on the Lake" and the "Church on the "Shore." I may point out here that the stretching of an arm of the lake up as far as the Ford Bridge would bring the water within a couple of hundred yards of the old site of Overchurch Church, thus making the term "church on the shore" perfectly appropriate.

The strongest proofs of the existence of this lake lie in the names of the fields which at one time formed its bed, but are now rich meadows and fertile fields. In the first place, the whole of that portion of the land which lies west of Leasowe Lighthouse, up as far as Grange Hill, goes by the name of *The Carrs*, a Middle English word meaning "The marshes," and the various fields are differentiated by such names as *the Old Carr*, *the New Carr* (so called in a document dated 1570, therefore not so very new); *the Saughall Carr*, *Newton Carr*, *Moreton Carr*, *Little and Great Saughall Carrs*, and

so on. We have also numerous *hooks* around the edge of what was the lake, a hook being a heel of land jutting out into water, *Great Ley Hook*, *The Hooks*, *Drake Hooks*, and many others. We have *Land Pool*, *Moory Flaggs*, and lower down, near Wallasey Pool, we have several *Salt Thwaites*. Then, as showing the commencement of reclamation, we find some of the fields, which here and there swell up a few feet above the level of the surrounding land, bearing the significant name *Holme*, usually as a compound, *e.g. Big Holme*, *South and North Holme*, *Holme Hay*, *Holme Itch*, *Holme Intake*, *Oxholme*, *Lingholme*, &c.; *Holme* being the Norse word for a flat island in a river or near the shore. The fact that these islands bear Norse names, show at how comparatively recent a date their cultivation first began, since the Norse did not finally settle in Wirral until within a couple of centuries of the Conquest. In Newton Carr there is one field still bearing the name *The Island*. Then in a survey of the parish, dated 1665, in the possession of Mr. Vyner, there is a road shown leading from Moreton to Lingholme, called *The Lake Way*.[5]

But the tranquil rule of the English was at length rudely disturbed, first by the flying visits and finally by the permanent settlement of the fierce Northmen, who, having harried the west of Scotland and north of Ireland, plundered and desolated

5 Since writing the above, I have met with further evidence. Some few hundred yards towards Bidston, after leaving Moreton village, a lane turns off to the north from the main road, generally called *Dangkers Lane*. From the levels of the land I had long come to the conclusion that this lane marked the shore line of a portion of the lake, and I was pleased to have my surmise corroborated in the following manner. Walking down this lane last summer I met an ancient inhabitant, and on enquiring from him the meaning of the name Dangkers Lane, he assured me that it was only a modern name, he had only heard it during the last 50 or 60 years; when he was a boy it was always called *Overside Lane*. We have here again our Anglo-Saxon *over*, a shore, and *Shoreside Lane*, as we should call it, is another interesting bit of evidence.

the Isle of Man, at length attacked the mainland itself, and no spot on the coast offered a more inviting entrance than the Wirral. Canon Isaac Taylor says—"In Cheshire, with one remarkable "local exception, we find no Norse colonists. But "the spit of land called the Wirral, between the "Dee and the Mersey, seems to have allured them "by its excellent harbours and the protection "afforded by its almost insular character."

I have been very much impressed, of late, by the completeness of this occupation. At first sight, there only seem to be a few distinctly Norse place-names scattered over the Hundred, but on more careful examination one finds Norse names cropping up everywhere, in the least-expected places,—field names, names of lanes, brooks, etc., all testifying to the complete nature of the colonization.

As I pointed out with reference to the English invasion, the conquerors seem to have had a strong preference for the Dee bank, which of course would be the most important part of the Hundred, owing to the main road from Chester to West Kirby running along it, and so it is not surprising to find a complete chain of Norse place-names running the whole length of the Hundred on its western side. Landing at West Kirby, the Norsemen seem to have seized the important strategic points, and no doubt fortified their villages of Greasby, Frankby, and Irby, which—with Thurstaston on the right, and the meres and marshes of Newton Carr on their left—would form a strong line of defence against any land attack and leave them free to retreat at any moment in their vessels, which would ride securely in the Hoyle-lake, or under the shelter of Hilbree. Then moving southward, they planted Pensby, Heswall, Gayton,—ever with one eye over their right shoulder to see that the river and their

ships were handy—through Neston, Nesse Denwall, Shotwick, and Crabwall, to Chester.

Turning next inland from Thurstaston, through Barnston and Carnesdale, till they met their brethren, whose attack had been made up the Brombrough Pool—which in its sinuous windings would remind them so strongly of their own fjords, and the muddy bottom of which must have seemed to them almost made to rest their long keels on—they together founded that most interesting of Wirral villages, Thingwall.

Wallasey, or rather Kirkby-Walley, was captured, doubtless, by a rush up Wallasey Pool. It needs a powerful imagination to-day, standing on the Halfpenny Bridge, with the thud of Lairds' steam hammers and half a dozen railway whistles sounding in one's ears, to try and picture the morning a thousand years ago, when that fierce fight went struggling up the steep street of Poolton, and the English men-at-arms gave way before the curved axes of the fair-haired heathen.

Of the few remaining townships bearing names of decidedly Norse origin are Birkenhead, accessible by Birket or Tranmere Pool, the two Thorntons, Raby, and Whitby.

But to take the Norse names more in detail—

Meols (*Domesday*, *Melas*), the sand dunes.[6] The next township, Hoose, means practically the same thing, the sand hills, from the Norse *haugr*, a mound; it may be worth mentioning that in Wallasey the sandhills are still called the "*Hoes*."

[6] *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii, first series, p. 208.—Meals: On the N.W. coast of Norfolk are certain sandbanks so called. Brancaster Meals, Blakeney Meals, and Wells Meals are among those most dreaded by the mariner. . . Philip's *New World of Words* gives—Meales or Males: The shelves or banks of sand on the sea-coast of Norfolk, whence Turgommeals, the name of a sandy shore in Lincolnshire. The word Meales or Malls is, however, obviously connected with the Icelandic Möl, which Helmboc, in his recently published work, *Det Norske Sprogs etc*, defines as "coarse sand," a sandy or stony place.

West Kirkby: the West Churchton. As the name Wallasey was superseded during the Norse occupation by Kirkby-Walley, I am inclined to think the old name that was superseded by West Kirkby was Caldey; *i.e.*, that before the Norsemen came, the parish was the parish of Caldey, or the cold island—*cald-ieg*. On the other hand, the *Domesday Book* spelling, *Calders*, seems to suggest a Norse derivation; possibly it is akin to the Norse *kalldr*, *cold*.

The undoubted Norse termination of *by* is to be found in Frankby, Pensby, Irby, Greasby, Raby, and Whitby, but it remains for some one to suggest a meaning for the first syllable of these names. The only one on which I will venture is Greasby, possibly from the *gräs*, *grass*, *pasture;* though the *Domesday Book* reading of *Greavesberrie* would seem to suggest an almost prehistoric Price's Patent Candle Company.

Thurstaston: Perhaps more controversy has raged over this place-name than over any other name in the Hundred, barring Noctorum, and in spite of this or possibly on account of this, we appear to be as far off a decision as ever. The *Domesday Book* spelling is *Turstaneton;* 1326, *Thurstaneston;* 1352, *Thurstaston;* later, *Thurstington*. I will only say that it is probably Norse, and that the first syllable recalls to our mind, as do also the two Thorntons, that the Northmen were heathen and worshipped the god Thor.

Heswell (thirteenth century, Hasel-well): from two Norse words, *Hassal* and *velle*—the town of the hazels.

Inland from Heswell we find Thingwall—"the "town of the meeting," where the Norsemen held their local parliament and promulgated their laws.

The "thing" usually met, says Canon Taylor, on some island, hill, or promontory.[7]

Those of you who know that part of Wirral must have been struck with the curiously abrupt little hill at Thingwall on which the mill now stands. It was doubtless on the slopes of this hill that the members of the little colony assembled to exercise their accustomed privileges of local self-government, and one can still in imagination people its crest with groups of armed warriors, intently listening, as some venerable Norseman harangues the assembled multitude, propounds a new law, or incites them to some fresh foray by chanting the wild hero songs of their fatherland.

Barnston (*Domesday Book*, *Berneston*). Canon Taylor groups this as Norse (p. 117).

Thornton (*Domesday Book*, *Torintone;* thirteenth century, *Thoreton*). Thorton is the original form, the *n* being merely euphonic.

Nesse. A pure Scandinavian word—*Næsse*, a promontory.

Neston. The farm on the promontory.

Denwall. The last syllable is doubtless the Norse *velle*.

Shotwick (*Domesday Book*, *Sotowiche;* thirteenth century, *Schotewycke*). The *wick* from the Norse *vic*, a bay. Whether the first syllable, *shot*, represents a man's name or describes a physical feature I know not, but we meet with it again on the other side of the Hundred, in Shotdale, softened into Shoddale.

Crabwall: the last syllable again the Norse *velle*.

Mickwell Brow in Neston.

Kirkby Walley has already been dealt with.

Birkenhead: it is difficult to understand how people can have gone on quietly accepting the

7 *e.g.*, Tynwald Hill, Isle of Man. To this day, no law is valid in th island until it has been proclaimed from the summit of Tynwald H

palpably foolish explanation that is always given of Birkenhead—namely, that it is so called because it stood at the *head* of a stream called the Birket.

Now, first of all, I can confidently assure you that there is more than abundant evidence to prove that no such stream as the Birket ever existed except in the imagination of the Ordnance Survey people. And, secondly, supposing for the sake of argument, that such a name existed, and that, as is laid down in the ordnance map, it is applied to that stream which runs from Newton Carr into Wallasey Pool, why on earth should a place which is situated *eight miles from the source or head of* that stream, and *two miles at least from its mouth even*, be called "the "head or source of the Birket"?

Of course it comes from the Norse word *birk*, a birch tree, and *hafod*, a headland; and in support of this, we have more than ample evidence that it was a wooded headland in the name Woodside Ferry, and from the fact that it was frequently called in old documents Berket-wood-head.

Bromborough. Early form *Brun-bræ*. Probably from a Norse word meaning a well; and this is borne out by the fact that there are several noticeable wells in the parish, particularly one which possesses petrifying qualities.

And, finally, Whitby, or the white town.

In addition to the evidence of Norse colonization deducible from the place-names of the various townships, we find scattered throughout Wirral a number of hamlet and field names of distinctly Norse origin, aad these in some cases in parishes where the townships have retained their English names. The only parish which I have had an opportunity of exhaustively examining—namely, Bidston—has yielded many interesting traces, and this in spite of the fact that all the township

names—Bidston, Moreton, Claughton, and Saughall—are definitely English.

Taking then the test-words of Norse occupation—thwaite, dale, holme, and gill—we find them all well represented. On the marsh between Wallasey and Bidston, we have the great Salt Thwaite, Tassey's Thwaite, the Little Thwaite, Whinny Thwaite, the Cornhill or Corner Thwaite. On the boundary between Claughton and Bidston we find Lingdale—*Lyng*, a Norse word for heather (this name occurs in a document relating to the bounds of the parish, dated about 1300); and down on the Leasowes we have Lingholme, or, as it is often written, Lingham; and running into the Wallasey Pool, in Claughton, we have the Gillbrook, which has given its name to the Gillbrook estate, belonging to the Birkenhead Corporation.

The following are a few of the *dales* that I have met with in Wirral:—In Bromborough Parish, *Dibbinsdale*, so well known to all lovers of the picturesque, and, close to it, *Anstubbledale* and *Shotdale* or *Shoddale;* in Heswell, *Puddy Dale;* in Thurstaston, *Tinkersdale*, called in old documents *Steyncolesdale;* in Eastham, *Coopersdale;* in Woodchurch, *Carnesdale* and *Ramsdale* in the township of Barnston, and *Shockingdale* in Thingwall township.

Finally, Mr. Black, in his report on the Manor of Tranmere, gives it as his deliberate opinion—and in support thereof deduces substantial proof—that the early name of Tranmere was Somerford, and that it is under this name that *Domesday* alludes to the manor. If this be the case, we have in the "ford" an example of the *fords* of the Scandinavian sea-rovers, which Canon Taylor describes as "passages for ships up the arms of the sea, as in the case of the fiords of Norway and Iceland, and the firths of Scotland," and adds that "these

"Norse fords are found on the coasts which were "frequented for purposes of trade and plunder." (*Words and Places*, p. 107.) Tranmere Pool certainly would be admirably adapted to shelter the Northmen's keels.

And now, having successively—and, I trust, to a certain extent successfully—dealt with the various periods of Wirral place-names, I will bring my too lengthy paper to a close, and will leave the treating of such names as Egremont, New Brighton, and the Pass of Thermopylæ to the antiquaries of succeeding centuries.

OVERCHURCH AND ITS RUNIC STONE.[1]

By Edward W. Cox.

Read 19th February, 1891.

ON the 22nd of June, 1889, I visited an aged inhabitant of Upton, Prince by name, and spent an hour or more in obtaining his recollections of the ancient church, pulled down in 1813. Though 92 years of age, he could remember places with accuracy, when given time to think, and not hurried. To use his own words, "Sometimes I "can recall things when I think about them; "sometimes my memory fails me." And I commenced by testing his accuracy—asking for details of Birkenhead Priory, where he had lived; and as to these he made no mistakes. I will give his account of Overchurch as nearly verbatim as I can; making no change except in arranging his recollections, which he gave me as they occurred to him, and omitting personal anecdotes.

"I was only a lad of fourteen, or so, when I saw "the old church, which was not much of a place, "not such as they build now; people wern't so "particular then. It was small; it had a tower, "and there were battlements on it, and windows "on the sides of it; I don't remember whether "square or pointed. There were no stone stairs

[1] An able and exhaustive paper on the Stone and its inscription was read before the Society on the same evening, by the Reverend Wilfrid Dallow, M.R.S.A. (Ireland). It was also read before the Chester Archæological Society, and having been already printed in that Society's *Journal*, we are precluded from printing it here.—EDITOR.

"to the tower, only a ladder of wood in one corner. "Then you came to a landing like, and up again. "It had a window to the west, and was a short "tower. There was a bell; they pulled it inside, "from the floor; there was no ringing-loft. There "was a door on the left, where they rung; they "shut it when they had done ringing; it was "boarded off." (Evidently the tower arch was closed by a wood partition.) "It had a weather-"cock on the top, to show the way of the wind. "There was a widish door to the church; two or "three people could go in at once. It was arched, "and a little pillar on each side, and an old oak "door; it was on the south side, near the tower. "There was a bit of a porch; it was close up to "the tower. There was a little place on the right "of the entrance, where people went for the chris-"tenings. The christening font was up the church "like, not just at the door.

"The church was narrow, with pews both sides. "They were pews, not benches. The new church" (*i.e.*, of Upton, built 1813) "was wider than the "old, and higher; it had two aisles, and the old "church only one up the centre." (By aisles he evidently meant passages between the pews.) "I "do not remember that there were any pillars or "arches inside the church. I think there were "none. There may have been a chancel arch; I "think there was one; but I'm not sure.

"The windows on the sides were square, not "like this" (pointing to his cottage sash), "but "stone windows, with glass between" (*i.e.*, mullioned). "There was one gable at the east end, "and not two, and a window in it; I don't remem-"ber how many lights it had. I cannot remember "the stained window, but think it might have been "near the christening place. There was no vestry "that I remember. I cannot recollect what the

OVERCHURCH CHURCH.

AS RECOVERED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

"roof was like inside; it was not ceiled, but open "like a barn roof; it was covered outside with "stone slabs, not lead and not slate.

"I think the floor was clay; it was not tile, they "had none then. I can't call to mind the pulpit, "or shape of the font. I don't remember any "ornament or carving anywhere, nor zigzags on "the arches.

"The churchyard was entered by a gate like a "field gate, and a style with stone steps, near the "gate"—(as it is now.) "There was no wall, only "a hedge round it. When the church was taken "down in 1813, the stone was carted to Upton, to "build the church there, and there was not enough "to build the new church with." So runs the simple narrative of the only living man who had seen the ancient church standing.

The stones, taken from the church built at Upton in 1813, preserved by Mr. Webster, fully confirm by their character the supposition that they formed parts of the destroyed church of Overchurch. They consist of half the head of a light of a large window, the light trefoiled, while a fragment of the tracery above it shows rather Early Perpendicular work, and gives the curve of the arch of the window on the extrados. There are two pieces of the jamb of the same window, giving both the inner and outer splays, and the thickness of the wall. Half of the head of a very small, round-headed loop, or opening, widely splayed within, also remains. Built into the wall of the shed, constructed out of other stones from the old church, are two fragments of mullions, with plain chamfers, and one chamfered stone, probably from the jamb of a window other than the east window. There are also two fragments of grave slabs, much defaced: one fourteenth century, the other late Saxon, or Norman. The finest of the stones preserved at Mr. Webster's is

a voussoir of a Norman door, with a double chevron, and pellet, or disc ornament, and small cable moulding. This voussoir of S. door is 10½ in. deep, = 21 half in.; it is a fraction over 7 in. in the soffit, which would give an arch 70 in. wide, formed of ten stones of 7 in. each. It shows marks of an inner order, set back 3½ in. = 7½ in. It would require a hood mould 3½ in. deep, giving the whole arch a width of 77 in. If we give the inner order stones the same depth as the outer, and 5½ in. in soffit, we get seven stones, and an inner arch of 28 in., or 4 times 7. The line of junction of the two orders is an arch of 49 in., 7 times 7, and the full circle struck on this line is 147 in., or 21 times 7, *i.e.*, 3 times 7 × 7. We may take it for certain that 7 is the number to be used to evolve this doorway.

Two further details we obtain from it: first, we find the second order set back 3½ in.; the whole depth of the stone is 8½ in. If we give the second order the same depth, it makes, with the overlap, 12 in., or half the thickness of the wall, the other half being the rear arch. We know from other evidence that the thickness of the wall was 2 feet. The second is, that the inner arch was carried by an impost moulding, or abacus, and the jamb set back, so as to make the space sufficiently deep for the little pillar, the existence of which we hear of from old Prince. Such shafts in Norman doorways were almost always what are called nook shafts, and set in an angular recess. Thus we have recovered, with fair certainty, the Norman doorway.

Another stone is the half of the head of a narrow window, or loop, 6 inches wide, round, or nearly round-headed, with a small chamfer on the outer side, and deeply splayed within. There is no rabbet for glass. Now, such a window is fitted for five different places: a crypt, which is a most unlikely appendage for so small a church; the

SOUTH DOOR, OVERCHURCH.

FROM FRAGMENTS AND DESCRIPTION.

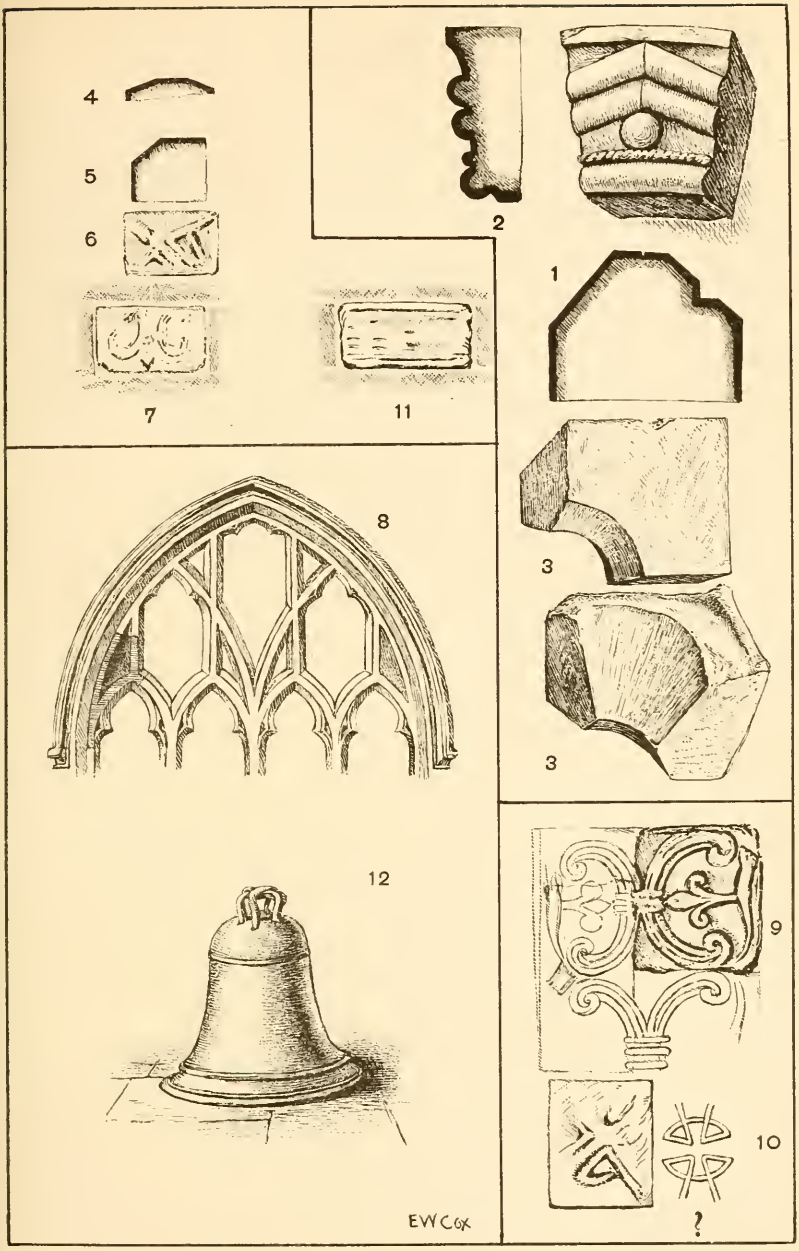
upper stage of a gable, and we know that the east gable of this church must have been Early Perpendicular, not late Norman, to which period this relic belongs; the light of a turret stair, as to which our oldest inhabitant has told us that there was none, and that the upper part of the tower was reached by a wooden ladder; a porch. There was the "bit of a porch," but this stone, though it was originally unglazed, has had a groove cut at the back, to put in a square wooden frame, and the window of an open porch would not be so treated. The fifth situation would be in the ringing chamber, or lower stage of a tower, and in such a position a glazed frame would be added at a later date. This leads us to infer that the lower stage of the tower of Overchurch was Norman, for this stone is unlikely to have been used elsewhere in the church. Further, if three small loops were the original lights on the three lower faces, the want of light would dictate the insertion of the western window, described by Prince, and the glazing of the two other smaller openings. The upper stage may have been of later date, and the plain chamfered jambs may have come from its four upper windows. Probably the tower was a plain square, without buttresses, similar to most small Norman towers.

The next stone is the jamb of the east window, chamfered with two orders of chamfer outside, and a plain splay inside. It is adapted for a wall 2 feet thick. The rabbet for the glass, and socket for iron saddle bars are evident, and give us the inner and outer sides. The piece of tracery to be next named fits to it, and is a part of the same window. The thickness of the wall is the same that the Norman door indicates, and it may be taken as probable that the church was set on the Norman foundation and never enlarged on the first plan in the later rebuildings.

In connection with this fragment is a piece of window tracery 19 inches long, on the extrados of the curve, and 12 inches deep. It gives half the head of a trefoiled light, of 21 inches in width, and one tracery bar between the head of the light and the external curve. The curve gives $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch rise in 19 inches. Arches of this period were seldom acutely pointed; and if we strike the curves of this window, which was plainly an important one, at 21 inches from the jamb, it gives us a four-light window of 7 feet, with 21-inch lights; thus again we have seven as the dominant number. Four-light windows were common in the Decorated period, and this is Early Perpendicular work. If the head had been filled with narrow sublights, I think the tracery bars would have been reduced in thickness, so as not to fill the window with too much stone; but they are kept the full size of the mullions, and, I think, some design, approximating to the one I have drawn, with large, bold openings, was most likely used. Unless this dual division were used, the window would show very bad design and construction, whereas its remaining details are good, and do not suggest such.

Next, we have a fragment of mullion, of the same character as the east window, but smaller, probably from the tower windows, or the inserted west window. Also, two jambs of windows, probably part of the same set of windows, though not to be allotted with certainty.

Before it was possible to investigate the traces of foundations, the following estimates, from these relics, of the measures of this church were made. The space clear of graves in the churchyard is from 80 to 90 feet. Taking the chancel window as 7 feet, the probable width of the chancel would be 14 feet, and its length 3 times 7, or 21 feet. If the tower is taken as 14 feet square, we have a nave of



1 SECTION OF JAMB OF EAST WINDOW
2 SECTION AND VIEW OF VOUSSOIR, SOUTH DOOR
3 PORTION OF HEAD OF SMALL NORMAN WINDOW
4 HALF SECTION OF 15TH CENTURY MULLION
5 WINDOW JAMB
6, 7, 9, 10, 11 FRAGMENTS OF SEPULCHRAL CROSSES AND GRAVE SLABS
8 EAST WINDOW, RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS
12 BELL, FROM UPTON

OVERCHURCH CHURCH.

49 feet, and a total length of 84 feet (12 times 7); nave, 7 times 7; chancel, 3 times 7; tower, twice 7; probable breadth of nave, 21 feet, 3 times 7. This, of course, assumes 7 to be the dominant number. Let us see how this fits the tradition that it held 150 people. With a 3 feet central aisle, we have two ranges of seats 9 feet long, each holding six people; and if they are 3 feet apart, we have fourteen on the north side. On the south we must allow three benches for the entrance and space for the font, leaving eleven, or twenty-five in all, each holding six people, or 150 altogether. Thus, a church proportioned on this basis of seven, gives us the exact accommodation that tradition says it afforded.

A few pieces of plain oak paneling have been used in the church of 1813, which appear to belong to the seventeenth century.

The very small amount of material evidence that is left to us made much of this plan conjectural at the time it was taken, but I think it cannot be very wide of the truth. Perhaps some old View of this church may ultimately be found, on which more certain data can be founded. All that we can do now is to rescue what we have from oblivion.[2]

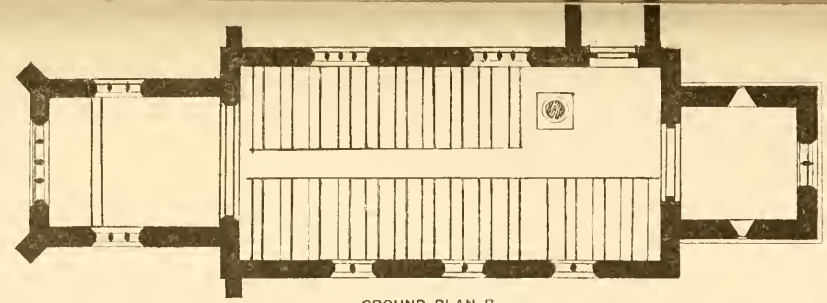
About a year after these conjectures as to the plan of the church were made from the fragments, it became possible, while the grass was ungrown, to find traces of the ancient foundations, and to measure them. The result showed that the deviations from the plan originally made, in the actual measurements were small; and the character of the building and its features, as described by Prince, were entirely established. The Plan given has been corrected to the actual measurements, and

[2] A small View of the church on a map dated 1665 has since been found by Mr. Fergusson Irvine, entirely confirming these particulars. It is copied on the plate opposite page 306 of this vol.

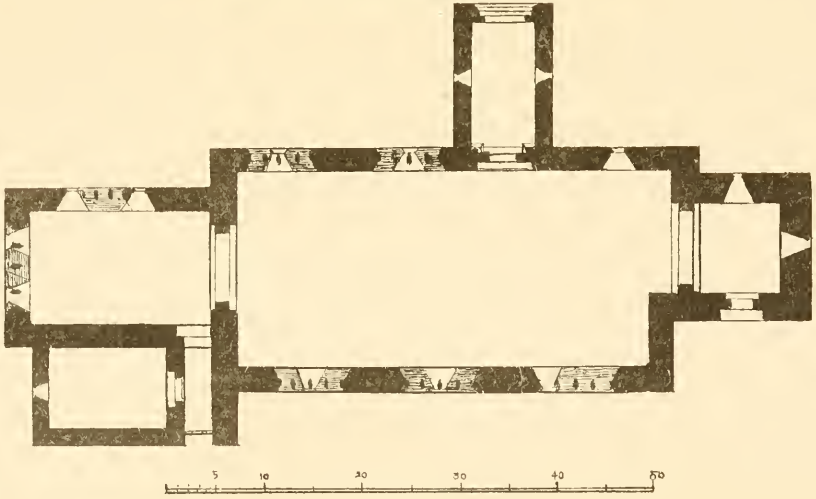
shows a west tower of 15 feet square, exterior measurement; a nave of 50 feet by 25 feet, exterior measure; a chancel 21 feet by 14 feet to the centre of the walls; a porch 15 feet by 10 feet; and a chamber, or vestry, on the north of the chancel. There seems to have been a door on the north side of the tower, and a priest's door on the north side of the chancel, leading by a passage both into the Chancel, and to the "chamber"; also a chancel arch, as there were indications, both of its piers, and of the large north buttresses that acted as its counterforts. Much of the pavement remains beneath the sod, partly consisting of grave slabs. The foundations are so much ruined and overgrown, that some little variation must be still possible in these measures.

These Measurements not only confirm the conclusions derived from the proportions of the stones, that the numbers dominating the construction of this church were five and seven; but also, by carefully examining the plan, it has been possible to discover the geometrical basis from which they were evolved. This proves to be, as in the case of Liverpool Castle, a Pentacle, or five-pointed star. Two of these figures are contained in the Chancel. They are based on its diagonal lines crossing at the centre, which give angles of 77 degrees; one of these gives the measures and proportion of the Sacrarium, the other that of the Presbytery. Two pentacles similarly constructed, with angles of 55 degrees, mark out the Nave; a fifth, with angle of 55 degrees, marks the measures and detail and position of the Tower; two larger pentacles, embracing the two in the chancel and nave respectively, and based upon their lines, determine both the site and size of the chamber or sacristy, and of the porch.

It will be seen from the Plan, on which these

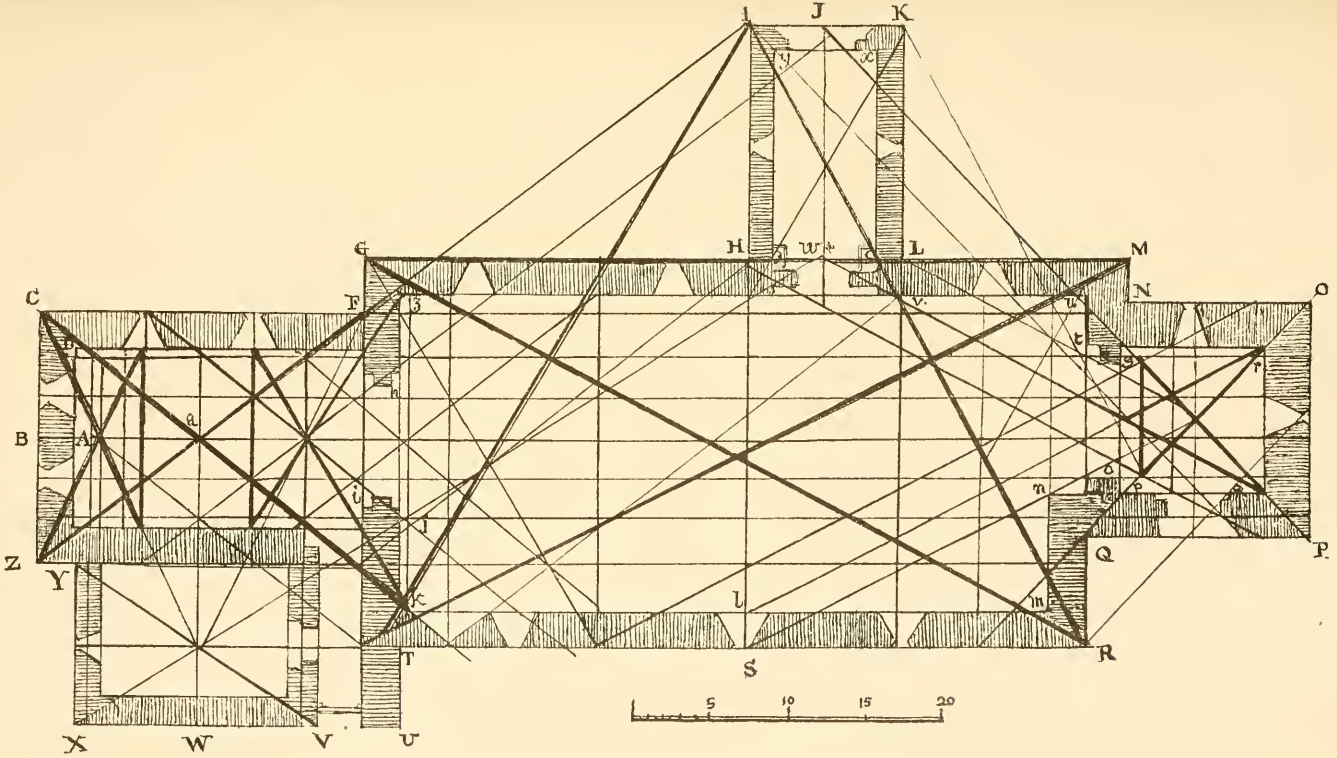


GROUND PLAN B.
FROM MEASUREMENT OF FRAGMENTS AND TRADITION.



GROUND PLAN A.
FROM FOUNDATIONS DISCOVERED AND FRAGMENTS.

OVERCHURCH CHURCH.



PLAN C. GEOMETRICAL BASIS OF OVERCHURCH CHURCH.

figures are laid down, that regular quadrilateral divisions of seven and five feet are evolved from these pentacles (which are marked on the Plan in darker lines), by a series of lines drawn parallel to their sides, which give lozenge-shaped spaces of 7 feet by 5 feet on their diagonals, and which bring out the quadrilateral divisions of the same area. So, it will be seen that all the details of the church, its windows, doors, the width of its chancel and tower arches, and the place of each feature in the church, are determined by these pentacles and the symmetrically arranged spaces and their diagonals. Even the deviation of the tower from the axis of the church, falls into harmony and calculated proportion to the other details, by the use of the lines of its constructive pentacle. A step, therefore, has been gained since the geometrical basis of Liverpool Castle was discussed, by thus showing how these figures were used in the plan of this simple little building, and how they evolved the harmonic proportions of five and seven.

A list of a few of the measurements and distances is given, to prove that these numbers rule the whole scheme of the design. The number three which prevails in other structures is here unused, its persistent absence being a further proof that it was designedly omitted, and that this map presents the actual method in which the mediæval builder laid down his plan. A small deviation from complete apparent accuracy may be observed in these lines at T, also at the crossing of the diagonals of the nave, which is a few inches from the true centre. Were the axis of the nave deviated about a foot to the north, this apparent error would disappear. It is likely enough that there was actually such a deviation, which it is not at all unusual to find in ancient churches, that at Woodchurch being a example in which it is strongly marked. This inclination is said to sym-

bolise the Saviour's position on the Cross, as handed down by tradition. The use of so great an amount of care and patient calculation in the design of an extremely simple structure, speaks volumes for the extent and thoroughness of high technical acquirements and knowledge current among mediæval builders. Neither major nor minor details were left to chance; but all was subject to a thoughtful and ordered system, such as modern art is too ignorant to understand, or too careless to practise. Hence the feeble and puerile failure of most modern work, its perpetual mimicry and changeful fashion, its lack of the guidance of a true, scientific basis; faults which the luxury of superfluous ornament quite fails to redeem. It is, therefore, the more incumbent upon us, when investigations like the present begin to throw some faint light on the skill that produced our ancient buildings, to see that we sacredly preserve intact such works, inasmuch as the present generation is apparently incompetent to construct buildings on equally scientific lines.

It remains for me to say a few words respecting the inscribed Saxon stone, found in the summer of 1887, when taking down the small whitewashed church, built within the old burial ground at Upton in the year 1813, and which had been used as a walling stone in the Norman reconstruction of Overchurch. When this church was taken down, in 1887, all stones taken out of the building, which showed any traces of carving, were bought by Mr. George Webster, a resident in the neighbourhood, the Saxon stone among the number. This Mr. Webster having carefully cleaned from the limewash and mortar adhering to it, the Runic inscription appeared. Its existence having been notified to the Reverend Wilfrid Dallow, of Upton,

he promptly visited the stone, and having copied the inscription, sent his copy to Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, who corrected some of the readings, and referred Father Dallow to Professor G. F. Browne, Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge. The illustration opposite shows the present appearance of the stone and inscription. On the edge at the narrow end of the stone there is rudely incised a Romanesque arch. "This," as Professor Browne says,[3] "is very "fortunate, for it determines the original position "of the stone. It was a recumbent, not a standing "stone, with interlaced serpents on the surface, a "rude arcade cut on the vertical edge at the head, "and an inscription in runes cut on the vertical "edge at the side. This would be on the south "side, if the body which it covered was laid facing "the east. Presumably, large stones were laid on "the surface of the ground, over the grave, on "which this body stone was in turn laid, so that it "should not sink into the earth. Even so, the "vertical edge of a flat stone was not a very "permanent place for an inscription, and I do not "remember any other runic inscription in Great "Britain in that position.

"The inscription is in two lines, one above the "other, an incised line dividing the two. Both "lines are broken off at the right hand, and the "two runes at the left hand of the lower line are "defaced. The rest is very legible. The rune-"cutter began with large letters well spaced, but "when he came to the second line he had to "squeeze his letters, getting nineteen into the "space occupied by fifteen in the upper line."

The present size of the stone is 21 inches long, by 10 inches wide at one end and 5 at the other,

3 *Archæological Journal*, xlvi, 397.

and it is 9 inches thick. It is the only stone with a runic inscription yet found in Wirral.

Professor Browne reads and translates the inscription as follows :—

FOLCÆ [people, or kindred] AREARDON [erected] BECUN [a gravestone] GEBIDDATH [bid ye, or pray ye] FOTE [or, FORE for] AETHELMUND. The whole reading, "The people raised a memorial. Pray "for Æthelmund." The letters underlined are supplied, and would appear where the inscription is broken off and damaged. The name Athelmund is a rare one, and occurs only twice in the *Saxon Chronicle* and in Lingard's *History of England*. It is said to signify "Royal Peace."

I have now to notice some details of the Stone, on which Father Dallow has not dwelt. First, the absolutely perfect and unworn condition of the inscription, which, judging from its condition, has never been exposed to the weather; the inference being that it was set in the interior of some building, probably the original Saxon church. In the next place, a curious kind of greasy glaze is found on this surface, which does not enter the groovings of the letters. It is just such an appearance as stone presents when subjected to the frequent touch of the human hand or skin, and is most apparent on that portion of the stone containing the name Athelmund. It strongly suggests that the stone was a kind of shrine, and the memory of Athelmund was held in reverence, and it may be that this shrine was kissed, or touched, by those who resorted to it, and who made it the Biddan Stone, or Stone of Prayer. When the Norman church was built, the inscription was bedded in the wall, probably face downwards, and the other side of the stone roughly dressed to fit it to the level course in the building. The upper side was turned

INSCRIBED STONE

FOUND AT OVERCHURCH, CHESHIRE.

outwards, and showed its sculptured surface in the outer wall, where this face became greatly worn and weathered, its condition differing much in this respect from that of the inscription. Mr. Webster says the mortar was on the inscribed face. We have, apparently, fully two-thirds of the original stone in length, the inscribed front and upper side being as the Saxon mason cut them, one end and the reverse of the inscription having been hacked away. The stone may have stood on some kind of base, but was never part of a Cross. It is nearly complete as a monument, and closely resembles one found near Newcastle-on-Tyne. My own impression is that such memorial stones are reduced and feeble imitations of ornamental Roman sarcophagi or shrines.

As to the date of the inscription, the only suggestions that I can make arise from the well-known fact that Cheshire was one of the last parts of England occupied by the Saxons. Ethelfrith destroyed Chester A.D. 603, and it cannot be of an earlier date than this. But, some time after this, we have notices of certain British kings, or chiefs occupying the ruins of Chester; so, evidently, there was no immediate colonization by the Saxons. Not till the time of Ethelfleda, when Chester was rebuilt, in the tenth century, to withstand the incursions of the Danes, do the Saxons seem to have got firmly established here. It is well known that the policy of exterminating the Britons did not obtain in Cheshire, if it did elsewhere, at Saxon hands. We may, I think, take this memorial to date from the later Saxon times, both from the circumstances of the country and its style of sculpture, which verges on the Norman. Certainly, to my mind, it has none of the delicacy of design that distinguishes Celtic work.

Father Dallow suggests that this stone may have been the Biddan Stone, or Stone of Prayer, that gave its name to the parish of Bidston. Be that as it may, we have here evidence of the existence of a Saxon church, succeeded by the Norman building, whose dimensions and details it has been the attempt of this paper to recover, together with those of some later alterations made to it. The ground plan A gives the Norman building, the portions shaded with lines show the enlarged windows added in the fifteenth century, or it may be a few years earlier; plan B was that estimated from the few stones discovered before the foundations were explored; plan C gives the geometrical basis which guided the builder in making his plan; the other illustrations give the architectural details of stones preserved by Mr. Webster, and various early and mediæval grave slabs, restored from fragments found at Upton.

I desire to say a word or two as to the way in which both the graveyard and stones are preserved. A year or two since, the owners of both were accused in the newspapers of treating them with gross neglect. Nothing, indeed, can be more untrue. The stones are kept with the greatest care and appreciation. It is surely easier, in such cases, to do too much than too little. How, then, should we keep such a spot as Overchurch graveyard, a place where praise and prayer are silent, and men come no more at the beginning and end of life, for baptism, or for burial? Surrounded with a neat brick wall, and decked out with bedding plants, and garden crocks, and lounging seats for smokers and nursemaids, with the lawn-mower clattering over the levelled mounds? or, as I saw it last, in the summer twilight, with the thrush piping a Requiem in its trees, and the graves waist-deep in meadow grass? It is

not neglected—my own antiquarian curiosity was rebuked by a refusal to allow me to probe its soil for foundations—the fences are carefully trimmed, the grass mown twice a year; surely it is well so left; and in such case I think it ought to rest, a place of which even the most recent memories are already fading, folded in the dreamless sleep of forgetfulness, waiting for the day when earth and sea shall give up their dead, and all things be made new.

NOTES.

AS TO THE EVOLUTION OF PROPORTIONS FROM THE GEOMETRICAL BASIS OF THE PLAN.

The easternmost or sanctuary pentacle contains eight measures of 7 feet and none of 5. Its main angle is 77 degrees.

The second or chancel pentacle contains eight measures of 7 feet and three of 5 feet, two of 10 feet and two of 12 feet (7 and 5 added). The main angle is 77 degrees.

The first sub-pentacle in the nave gives five measures of 15 feet, two of 10 feet, and five of 5 feet; the latter being to distinct points in the plan of the building. It gives seven measures of 7 feet, two of 14 feet, and three of 25 feet.

The western nave sub-pentacle gives five measures of 7 feet, three of 14 feet, four of 28 feet, seven of 5 feet, three of 10 feet, three of 25 feet. The main angle of these two pentacles is 55 degrees.

The tower pentacle gives two measures of 5 feet, three of 7 feet, and two of 10 feet. Its main angle is 55 degrees.

The great pentacle, embracing the porch and nave, gives three measures of 15 feet and five of 25 feet, and its main angle is 50 degrees.

The lines drawn diagonally through the centres of the chancel pentacles, and all parallel with the sides of their main angles, give, when repeated, the sides being produced, lozenge-shaped

divisions of 7 feet by 5 over the surface of the plan; and these, subdivided through the angles, evolve parallelograms of 3½ feet by 2½ feet. A scale of proportions which is carried through the whole design, being originated in the chancel. All the minor details have already been shown to be subordinated to the same rules, and the plan is made up by taking so many of these proportioned lozenges and oblongs, or fractions of them, as may be needful. It follows, naturally, that the longitudinal and cross measures, as well as the diagonals, being based on this principle, must of necessity fall into the series of measures derived from five and seven, and it is needless to indicate their constant recurrence in the structure.

Communications.

THE RELIGIOUS SECT OF THE SANDEMANIANS IN LIVERPOOL.

SANDEMANIANS,[1] originally called Glasites, were never a numerous body of Dissenters. John Glas, the founder of the community, was Presbyterian minister of the parish of Tealing, near Dundee. In 1728 Mr. Glas was deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for holding peculiar theological views, contrary to Church government,[2] which resulted in the formation of several congregations agreeing with the Glasite discipline.

In 1755 Robert Sandeman, a Scotch divine, born at Perth in 1723, and Mr. Glas's pupil and son-in-law, published a series of letters which led to the opening of Glasite or Sandemanian chapels in London and other places in England and also in America.

1 See also *Transactions*, vol. v., p. 53.

2 In 1727, John Glas published "*The Testimony of the King of Martyrs concerning His Kingdom*" (John xviii. 36), in which he opposed national establishments.

Among the tenets or opinions of the Sandemanian sect are the following, taken from the Registrar-General's return.[3]

"The prominent doctrine of the Sandemanians, "on which they differ from most other churches, "relates to the nature of justifying faith, which "Sandeman maintained to be 'no more than a "simple assent to the Divine testimony, passively "received by the understanding.'

"Sandemanians, also, observe certain peculiar "practices, supposed by them to have been preva-"lent amongst the primitive Christians; such as "weekly sacraments, love feasts, mutual exhorta-"tion, washing each other's feet, plurality of "elders," &c.

In Liverpool, the first or original Sandemanian Chapel appears to have been in Mathew Street, North John Street. "*The Stranger in Liverpool*," for 1816, mentions that "near the Baptist Chapel "in Mathew Street is the Glasite or Sandemanian "Chapel." When this chapel was erected and the length of time it was used as a place of worship by the sect is uncertain; for we find that from 1821 to 1840 their regular meeting house was in Gill Street, adjoining and forming part of Mr. Bartlett's house, the corner of Pembroke Place.

This plain, unassuming brick building, now partially shut off from the street by a high wall, had a railing frontage and gate entrance, and measured 33 feet by 26, with seat room for 190 persons. From 1840 to 1845 the chapel appears to have been closed for public worship; perhaps from the paucity of attendance of Sandemanian worshippers.

In the latter year, a new denomination held their regular meetings within the building, and continued

3 *Vide* Hook's *Church Dictionary*, 10th edit., p. 683.

to do so until 1867. These independents were the Wesleyan Association Methodists, who seceded from the Wesleyan body in 1834. Gill Street Chapel was no doubt their branch; the minister in 1849[4] was the Rev. William Jones, 107, Mill Street. The original congregation worshipped in Brick Street Chapel, St. James' Street.

Another change followed in 1868, when the building was called the United Presbyterian Church, and again, shortly after, the Christadelphian Meeting House. Since 1878, the building has been closed for public devotion, and latterly Mr. Bartlett, the owner of the property, converted it into a private museum.

According to Mr. James Stonehouse, once a member of this Society,[5] the Sandemanians "were "locally called beefeaters, from the custom of the "congregation, who were few in number, and some "of whom lived at a distance, having beefsteaks "cooked on the premises, which were consumed "between the morning and afternoon service." This assertion may or may not be correct; Mr. Stonehouse assumes that because the Gill Street congregation were called "beefeaters" they must be Sandemanians. It is just as likely that one of the other denominations, who used the chapel as a meeting house, may have been entitled to the soubriquet; for I have it from an eye-witness that the Methodists held love feasts in the building, and occasionally dined there, the food being cooked in an apartment or ante-room at the back, and passed through a small square aperture into the chapel.

(The late) J. Harris Gibson.

4 *Gore's Directory.* 5 *Streets of Liverpool*, p. 123.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS AT SIMONSWOOD, IN THE PARISH OF KIRKBY, LANCASHIRE.

SOME interesting "finds" have taken place in the township of Simonswood, which possess especial features of interest for the members of this Society, and for historical students generally. In July, 1893, during somewhat extensive operations connected with the cleaning of what is known as the Simonswood Brook, three most interesting Roman coins were found in the brook, near what is known as Basford's farm.

Each of the coins is a Roman "first brass"; two being of the Emperor Trajan, one of these, well preserved, has on the obverse the Emperor's head and the inscription, TRAIANO AUG. GER. P.P.; the reverse bearing a figure of Mars standing. The third coin is of the Emperor Hadrian, but, being in a very poor state of preservation, it is difficult to make anything of it. As specimens, the coins are, no doubt, of very little intrinsic value. They were found about 18 inches below the bed of the brook, embedded in a wet, peaty soil. Every precaution was taken to secure the complete inspection of the bed of the brook, but no other discoveries were made.

Small as the "find" is, it presents a field for inquiry. In a map of 1769, kept in the Estate Office at Croxteth, the course of the brook appears to be very similar to that which it now takes, and there is no local tradition of its having taken any other. Long after the Roman era, the township of Simonswood was mostly a marshy forest, and no doubt this brook is a relic of a once extensive

carr. As early as 1700 the moss-land, near the spot where the coins were found, was being brought into cultivation; and the field names in the neighbourhood, such as "Great," and "Little" "Sand Hey," "The Rushy Meadows," "Water Meadows," "Wet Car," and innumerable instances of "Moss Hey," indicate its former condition.

It is, however, interesting to note that in the adjoining township of Kirkby there were discovered some years ago the remains of a (supposed) Roman pavement, and a crock. Unfortunately, the beneficial influence exercised by the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire was wanting in those days, and the pavement was ruthlessly broken up, while an inquisitive farm labourer destroyed the crock, in the hopes of finding some coins inside. The "little knowledge" in his case proved, if not a "dangerous," a delusive "thing," for none were found. Probably some member of the Society may be able to say how these coins found their way into Simonswood Brook. Are they the sole remains of some belated Roman, swallowed up, as others have been since, in the treacherous mosses of Simonswood? And how came they to be found so far from any known Roman road or station?

W. E. Hill, F.R.H.S.

[Was there ever a Roman road in this neighbourhood? asks Mr. Thompson Watkin in *Roman Lancashire* (p. 215). An amphora, and a vessel of Samian ware were found at Downholland in 1721. A straight line drawn from Downholland to the ferry over the Mersey, at Widnes, to the camp at Halton, would pass through a place called "Windy Harbour," near Cunscough, by Tarbock, where a "find" of coins occurred, and through Ditton, where, too, coins have also been found. So far the late Mr. Watkin. The spot where these three coins were found in Simonswood Brook would not be far out of the same line.—Editor.]

ARE THE "MARKS" IN CERTAIN WIRRAL CHURCHES GUIDES TO MEASUREMENTS?

UPON the walls of various churches in Cheshire, and possibly elsewhere, are to be seen certain scorings,[1] which are not mason marks, and for which it has hitherto been difficult to find any explanation. These consist of vertical lines, crossed by horizontal ones, and occasionally bounded by, or combined with, diagonal lines. In some cases these are carefully incised, so as to give exact spaces, in others they are rough and inexact. Examples exist on the exterior north wall of Eastham Church, in the belfry of Backford Church, near the porch and in the tower of Thornton-le-Moors; and at Birkenhead Priory there are traces on the refectory wall of a space that seems to have been carefully drawn, with both vertical, diagonal, and horizontal lines. If the theory of the spacing of the plans of churches into proportioned rectangular figures, derived from a geometrical basis, should be a correct one, a probable explanation of these curious markings is suggested. They are possibly plans for the guidance of the masons in constructing portions of the building. If the measure of each unit of space is known to the workmen, it would be immaterial whether such plans were carefully or roughly drawn; they would use, in working out the masonry in hand, so many units of known measure, according to the arrangement shown by these plans.

E. W. Cox.

[1] See page 189.

PEW-HOLDERS IN CHILDWALL CHURCH, 1609.

THE names of such as claim Titles unto Chapels, Pews, Seats and Forms within the Parish Church of Childwall, set down the 17th of June, 1609, viz.:—

ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

1. The next seat unto the chancel, belonging to David Griffith.
2. On that side, to Mrs Brettarge.
3. To Childwell House and Grange.
4. Hamlett Johnson, contr' [opposite side] Thos Whitfield.
5. Henry Moseck & Wm Mercer of Thingwell.
6. Mr Houghton, John Butterforth, John Holland.
7. Thos Orme of Lee claimeth of right 2 new seated Pews or seats, fixed to the pillar, on the south side of the alley, over against and next adjoining to the Corner of the Chapel of Sir Wm Norres, of the Hon^e^ order of the Bath, Kt., following in rank next to the form of Mr Rich'd Houghton of Wavertree.
8. Richd Bolton, Wm Woodward, Wm Bushell, Robt Hunt, James Pendleton. These all claim the Forms next below Thos Orme's Pew.
9. Thos Knowles, Henry Whitfield, Eliz^h^ Gudicar, widow, cont^r^ John Bridge.
10. Thos Plumb, Edward Hunt, Thos Baxter, cont^r^.
11. Thos Plumb for this his wife's life, Robert Hearne, Robt Plumb.
12. Thos Miller, Wm Fazakerley, Richd Atherton.
13. Henry Howard, Roger Dawber, Ales Prior, the late House of Richd Catton, now in the hands of Mr Secome of Liverpool.
14. Henry Dennet, Junr, wants on 1 life.
15. Thos Orme of Lee claimeth two parts of one form next beneath the Font, which he lately purchased from Thos Orme, son of Wm Orme, and Richd Orme, and were in times past their sole Inheritance.
16. Richd Abbott, Alice Sutton, Alice Orme, Mary Catton, John Shillington, P Clay.
17. Wm Graves & hr̃s, wants ij.
18. Robt Williamson wants ij.
19. John Posnage, Wm Halwood de Gateacre.

On the North Side.

One Chapel claimed by Sir Wm Norrise, Knight.

1. The first seat next the Chancel, on that Mrs Bretterze of Aigburth.
2. The second form or seat, Wm Halewood, Richd Plumb, Humphrey Bolton.
3. The third, John Pierson, Edward Allanson, John Plompton.
4. Robert Rose, John Lyon, Wm Bolton, John Woodward, Wililam Fletcher, cont^r^.
5. The fifth, Wm Bennett, Senr, Margarett Tarleton, widow, one wanting
6. The sixth, Henry Dennett, Wm Ellison, Nicholas Ferries, cont^r^.
7. 7th, being next below the pulpit, Jane Orme of Halewood, widow, Richd. Kenwright, Richd Wood.
8. The 8th, John Cook, wants ij.
9. The 9th, David Lake, David Woolfall, Eliz. Lake, widow, for John Lake of Cheshire.
10. The 10th, Richd Groves, Wm Wiswõ, Wm Atherton.
11. The 11th, Wm Bushell, Thos Bushell, the late house of Richd Gill wants one.
12. The 12th, Richd Barrow, John Holgreave, Alice Whitfield, widow, John Whitfield.
13. The 13th, Wm Molyneux of Roby, for Ports House, in Halewood, John Part, Ed. Holgreave, wants one.
14. The 14th, David Hall, Richd. Mercer, Ralph Seddon, cont^r^ Henry Durning.
15. The 15th, Thos Plumb, Peter Walton wants one.
16. The 16th, Henry Rachdale, Jane Orme, widow, Jennet Wainwright, widow, Gilbert Leadbetter, John Ireland, John Cook, of Much Woolton.
17. The 17th, David Hall, Rich^d^ . . . J. Wood, & Richd Baxter wants iiij.
18. The 18th, Wm Knowles wants iij.
19. Wants ij.

Endorsement.—To Mr. Frodsham : A true copy of a terrier of all the ancient seats, chapels, and forms in the parish church of Childwall.

This is supposed to belong to the late Mr. Joshua Frodsham, & recd. from Mr. Saml. Weston this 30th Jany., 1800.

p J. Okill.

TWO CURIOUS FINDINGS AT CORONER'S INQUESTS.

1660. 5 Apl. Richard Peircivall, Gent. late Maior and now Alderman and Coroner. Verdict: That the said Henry Halsall being in the Stable at Mrs Sandifords an Inne & hostler there, on the fift day of Apr. instant ab^t^ 8^t^ of ye Clocke in the Evening was soe stricken and hurt on the left syde of his head with a gray Meere of the Goods of Mrs Alice Eaton of Chest^r^ widow then & there being that part of his Braines came forth, whereupon the said Henry Halsall imediately dyed of the same hurts wch was by misfortune and misadventure accedentally donne, that being as we conceave the very occasion of his untymely death. L.R., iij., 703.

1663. 27 Dec. Tho. Andoe p hon. William Stanley, Arm'. Co^r^. Verdict: That about the houre of six of the Clocke of this morninge Elizabeth the wife of Wm. Ack'rs of Liv^p^poole aforesd. to the dishono^r^ of God became *felo de se* & murdered her selfe by wilfull drowninge herselfe in a well at the back of the now dwelling house of the said Wm. Ack'rs in Liv^p^poole aforesd. & belonginge to the same house. L.R., iij., 762.

SCHEDULE OF DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS, THE PROPERTY OF COLONEL THOMAS RICHARD CROSSE, PRESERVED IN THE MUNIMENT ROOM AT SHAW HILL, CHORLEY, IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.—Part III.

No. 117. *Liverpool.*

1410. Grant from Robert de Derby and Elizabeth, his wife, to Richard del Crosse, his heirs and assigns, of the reversion of two half butts of land, lying in the Wallefeld, between lands of Robert de Seacome and lands late of Robert de Longwro, after the decease of Elene, late wife of Richard de Aynesargh, which she held in dower: Rendering yearly four pence in silver at Michaelmas, with power of distraint for non-payment. Witnesses:

John de Osbaldston, then Mayor of Lyverpull, John de Bykerstath and Richard Taillor, Bailiffs of the same town, Thomas Caudray, John de Lynacre, William de Swynley, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on Monday after the Feast of St. Hillary [20th January], 12 Henry IV [1410].

No. 118. *Liverpool.*

1411. Grant from Nicolas de Lyverpull, clerk, to Richard del Cross, his heirs and assigns, of all the lands which he held by the feoffment of William de Penereth in Lyverpull Town and Field, except a quarter burgage in Le More strete, next land of the heirs of Robert del Morehouse, which Thomas de Glest holds by the feoffment of the said Nicholas; except also one land of ground in the Hethy-londes, between lands of Thomas le Coudray and John Bell, which land Nicholas

gave to the Chantry of the Blessed Mary of Lyverpull, to celebrate for the soul of William de Penereth. Witnesses:

Robert de Derby, then Mayor of Lyverpull, Thomas de Caudray, John de Lynacre, John le Dey, and Robert de Holand, then Bailiffs of the same town, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on Sunday in the Feast of All Saints [1st November], 13 Henry IV [1411].

No. 119. *Parr.*

1412. Quitclaim from Margaret, daughter of Richard de Parr, of Shagh, to Alice, who was the wife of Richard de Parr, of Shagh, for her life, of all right in those messuages and tenements which the said Alice had in Parr; Saving always to the grantor (Margaret) and her heirs her interest in the same after the death of the said Alice. Witnesses:

John de Eltonhead, Henry de Atherton, Henry le Norreys, and others.

Given at Parr, on Wednesday in the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul [26th January], 14 Henry IV [1412].

No. 120. *Liverpool.*

1412. Katherine del Hogh, formerly the wife of William, son of Adam de Lyverpull, in her pure widowhood, grants and surrenders to her son John de Lyverpull, Junior, all her estate in one Wind Mill and three selions of land adjoining in Lyverpull, also one plot of land, called Le Taverne, in Le Bonke strete, between the tenement of Richard de Stanay and the tenement of St. Nicholas. Witnesses:

Robert de Derby, then Mayor of Lyverpull, John de Osbaldston, Nicholas the clerk, John del Hogh, and others.

Given at Lyverpull on Monday after the Feast of the Annunciation of Blessed Mary the Virgin [28th March], 13 Henry IV [1412].

Octagonal seal of red wax: on a heater-shaped shield, and extending above it, a merchant's mark.

No. 121. *Liverpool.*

1412. Grant from John de Lyverpull, Junior, to Robert del Crosse, his heirs and assigns, of a Wind Mill and three selions of land in Lyverpull, also of a plot of land, called Le Tanne, in Le Bonke street, between the tene-

ment of Richard del Stanay and St. Nicholas. Witnesses :

Robert de Derby, then Mayor of Lyverpull, John de Osboldston, Nycholas the clerk, John del Hogh, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on Thursday after the Feast of the Annunciation of Blessed Mary the Virgin [31st March], 13 Henry IV [1412].

Oval seal of red wax : Blessed Virgin and Holy Child, encircled by a legend (illegible).

No. 122. *Liverpool.*

1412. Grant from John Forneby, brewer, of London, nephew and heir of William Swyn, of Forneby, to Richard del Crosse, his heirs and assigns, of all his messuages and tenements in Lyverpull, which by hereditary right came to him on William Swyn's death. Witnesses :

John Tippup, mercer, of London ; William Lyverpull, girdeler, of London ; Richard Kynarton, girdeler, of London ; and others.

Given at London, on Friday after the Purification of Blessed Mary the Virgin [4th February], 14 Henry IV [1412].

Small round seal of green wax ; the winged lion of St. Mark.

No. 123. *Liverpool.*

1412. Quitclaim from Nicholas de Lyverpull, clerk, to John le Dey, of Lyverpull, his heirs and assigns, of one land of ground, lying between the Crosses, next the Shootsacres, which Gilbert de Everton holds by the devise of Matilda de Sefton and the above Nicholas. Witnesses :

Robert de Derby, then Mayor of Lyverpull, Thomas de Bold, and Roger de Holand, then Bailiffs of Lyverpull, Hugh de Botyll, Thomas de Gleest, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, in the third week of Lent [4-10 March], 14 Henry IV [1412].

No. 124.

1415. Acknowledgment by John fil. Robert de Workesley of the receipt of six pounds, from Lawrence le Wareyn, by the hands of Richard del Crosse, in part payment of a larger sum, in which Lawrence and others are bound by a bond in writing.

Given on Thursday in the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula [8th August], 3 Henry V [1415].

No. 125. *Liverpool.*

1416. Grant from Katharine del Hogh, formerly wife of William fil. Adam de Lyverpull, to Richard del Crosse, her son, his heirs and assigns, of all her estate in those messuages, lands, tenements, windmill, fishery, turbary, and common pasture, which William and Katharine held of the feoffment of John de Henthorn and Richard Munn, in the towns of Liverpool and Kirkdale. Witnesses:

Henry de Mosok, William de Swynley, Hugh de Botehull, Thomas Glest, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on Thursday before the Feast of St. Laurence [7th August], 4 Henry V [1416].

Impression from an antique seal in green wax: a suit of armour.

No. 126. *Wigan.*

1416/7. Quitclaim from Katherine, late wife of Hugh del Cros, of Wygan, to Thomas de Birome and William Jewe, chaplain, their heirs and assigns, of all the messuages, lands, and tenements, which the said Thomas and William hold by the feoffment of Hugh, her late husband, in Leght [? Leigh]. Witnesses:

Hugh del Marsh, then Mayor of Wigan, Adam de Birkhened, of the same town, Henry de Birkhened, son of the said Adam, John de Birkhened, son of the said Henry, Amore Walker, Henry de Birome, and many others.

Given on Saturday after the Feast of the Circumcision, [2nd January, 1417], 4 Henry V [1416/7].

No. 127. *West Derbyshire.*

1420/1. Richard Botiller. of Kirkland, Escheator of the Lord the King, commands the Bailiff of [West] Derbyshire, within 40 days, to summon 24 free and lawful men, of [West] Derbyshire, by a Writ of *Diem clausit extremum* concerning Henry de Scaresbrek and Nicholas de Atherton, deceased; And to warn Richard del Crosse, that he appear before the Escheator at the same time and place, to shew cause why the lands and tenements of Thomas Dokesbury, an outlaw, ought not to be in the King's hands.

Given on the 16th day of February, 8 Henry V [1420/1].

No. 128. *Liverpool.*

1424. Grant from John de Wolton to Henry de Bretherton, Gilbert Gelibrond, and Thomas Bonnell, of Lyverpull, chaplains, of all his messuages, lands, tenements, rents,

reversions, and services, and all his goods and chattels; Also of the messuage, lands, and tenements which John de Lynacre holds for life, and which after his decease will revert to the grantor and his heirs, and shall then come to the said Henry, Thomas, and Gilbert, chaplains, their heirs and assigns. Witnesses:

Robert del More, then Mayor of Lyverpull, Richard Crosse, Henry Mosok, William Swynley, Hugh de Bothull, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, 14th of May, 2 Henry VI [1424].

Oval seal of red wax: an iris.

No. 129. *Burscough.*

1425. Bond, given by Roger Carter of Burscogh, and Nicholas de Aikscogh of Lathum, to David Gelibront and Charles Gelibront, in ten marks sterling, to be paid on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross next ensuing.

Dated 16th April, 3 Henry VI [1425].

Endorsed: The condition of this bond is that if Richard Carver [Carter] shall well and faithfully serve Charles Gelibront for half a year from 15th May, and yield to the said Charles a third part of his perquisites in foreign parts, he will indemnify Richard during his absence in regard to the king and his officers.

No. 130. *Liverpool.*

1426. Grant from John de Stanley, chevalier, Henry de Byrum, and Robert de Anderton, to Roger de Chernok and John de Assheton, of Budston, their heirs and assigns, of all the messuages, burgages, lands, tenements, mill, rent, and services which they hold in the towns of Lyverpull, Kirkdale, Wolton, Halewood, Wigan, Holland, Coppull, Heth-Chernok, Heley, and elsewhere in the county of Lancaster, by the feoffment of Thurstan de Anderton, and John de Dokesbere. Witnesses:

Henry Blundell [of Ince], Thomas de Bradshagh, of Hagh, William de Worthyngton, Thurstan de Holcroft, Mayor of Lyverpull, John de Byrkeheyde, Mayor of Wigan, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on Thursday in the fourth week of Lent [14th March, 1426], 4 Henry VI [1426].

No. 131.

1427. Bond in £20 from William fil. Roger le Coke [the cook] to Richard del Crosse, to be paid at Christmas.

Dated Monday after the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, [18th August], 5 Henry VI [1427]. Award:

Condition: To abide the order of Laurence Standish in all matters, real or personal, in dispute between them.

Small seal of green wax: crowned Lombardic letter M, between branches of a tree.

No. 132. *Kenyon.*

1418/19. This endentur' beres wyttenes yat Ric̃ of the Crosse, on of the executores of Maykin, of Kenyan, has delyũe, to Willm, the son of Maykyn, the hernes yat was of the forsaid Maykynnes, the whech was in kepyng of the forsaid Ric̃, in p'cence of Sir John of Stanley, knyght, James of Strangwais, and other, at Loncastr' the Thursday next before the fest of the Anũnciacõn of oure Lady [23rd March, 1419], in the yere of kyng Henr', the son of kyng Henr' [IV.] the seuenᵗ, yat is to wete:—

A muche Maser haftet, baslard hernesshet wyth siluer, a girdell of siluer, barret wyth lokkes and racches of siluer, and a nothir girdell of siluer, barret thurgh-oute, a coler all of siluer, six bosses for a Jak of siluer, with faure poyntes of silke and siluer, a tabull enewmolte of siluer, w' a purse of veluet, and a payre of bedes of whyt aumbr'.

In the wyttenes of the whech thyng the forsaid Sir John, James of Strangwais, and Willm of Kenyan, hauen set to hor sealles.

Wretyn at Lancastr' the day and the yere before said.

One seal left: an eagle rising with wings extended.

No. 133. *Liverpool.*

1429. Quitclaim from Robert Caudray, of Lyverpull, to Richard del Crosse, of all his right in one selion of land in le Dale-feld, in the said town, which selion Richard holds by the grantor's feoffment.

Given at Lyverpull, on Monday after the Feast of St. Laurence [15th August], 7 Henry VI [1429].

Small seal of red wax: a merchant's mark.

No. 134. *Liverpool: Chorley.*

1432. Johanna de Kenyan, late wife of John de Lyverpull, quitclaims to Richard del Crosse, his heirs and assigns, all her rights in all her lands, tenements, woods, water mill, &c., within Heley, in the town of Chorley, viz.:

the south part of Heley, now in Richard's possession: Witnesses:

Henry de Mosok, Robert Caudray, Hugh de Botell, Richard Tippup, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on Monday after the octave of the Pasch [5th March], 10 Henry VI [1432].

Small seal of green wax: five pellets arranged in form of a cross.

No. 135.

1434. Hugh de Botehull to Richard del Crosse, and Thomas son and heir of the said Hugh.

Bond in £20 to make a sufficient estate to his said son Thomas of lands purchased of John de Walton.

Dated at . . . . .

Small seal of red wax: crowned Lombardic letter H, between branches of a tree.

No. 136.

So faded as to be illegible.

No. 137. *Liverpool.*

1436. John de Stanley, knight, quitclaims to Richard del Crosse of Lyverpull, all actions or claims of debt from the beginning of the world to this day.

Given at Lathum, on Thursday after the Feast of All Saints [8th November], 14 Henry VI [1436].

No. 138. *Wigan.*

1436/7. Quitclaim from William, son of Roger Coke of Wygan to Richard del Crosse, and Margaret, his wife, their heirs and assigns, of all actions, real and personal, from the beginning of the world to this day.

Dated Monday after the Feast of St. Hillary [14th January, 1437], 15 Henry VI [1436/7].

No. 139. *Liverpool.*

1439. Indenture witnessing that Elianore, late wife to Hugh of Botyll, and Richard of ye Crosse, guardian to Hugh Thomasson of Botyll, have delivered to Roger of Chernok, as for a mene ffrende and a trewe, certens dedes, endentures, &c., viz.:—

1. Deed between John of Lynacre and Robert of Bowland and Thomas Bonell, priests.
2. Release by said John to said Robert and Thomas, priests.
3. Deed between the same parties.

4. Deed between Robert of Bowland and Thomas Bonell, priests, and Henry of Bretherton, priest, and Richard of ye Crosse.
5. Letter of Attorney: Robert and Thomas, priests, to Robert ye Caudray, to deliver possession.
6. Letter of Attorney, empowering the said Henry, priest, and the said Richard to receive possession.
7. Deed between John of Lynacre and Henry of Bretherton, priest, and Richard of the Crosse.
8. Deed between Henry of Bretherton, priest, and Richard of the Crosse and Hugh de Botill.
9. Deed between William of the Lunt, priest, and John of Lynacre and Jelian, his wife.
10. Fine between the said William the priest, and the said John and Jelian.
11. Release to Hugh of Botyll, by John of Lynacre.
12. Deed between John Johnson Adamson, of Derby, and John of Lynacre.
13. Deed between Hugh of Botyll and Henry of Bretherton, and Thomas Bonell, priests.

Written at Lyverpull, 5th March, 17 Henry VI [1439]. [In English.]

No. 140. *Chorley.*

1441. Indenture whereby a variance between Richard of ye Crosse, on the one part, and John Gelebront and Elizabeth, his mother, on the other part, is settled by the arbitration of Richard of Longtree and Oliver of Anderton, as follows:—John and Elizabeth are to make a Fine in the King's Court to Richard of ye Crosse, of lands in the North parts of the Eves-hey and Eves-field in the town of Chorley; Also John and Elizabeth shall swear on a book that there is no incumbrance on the lands when seisin is given to Richard of ye Crosse; Also that Richard shall resign all claim to the south part of Eves-feld and Eves-hey, and to swear on a book to pay to John 46^s^ 8^d^, viz., 26^s^ 8^d^ at the Feast of St. Luke, and 20^s^ at the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord.

Given the 10th day of October, 20 Henry VI [1441]. Fragments of two small seals. [In old English.]

No. 141. *Liverpool.*

1442. Letter of Attorney from William Nayler and Thomas Bonell, chaplain, empowering Richard del Ford to accept seisin of a messuage, lands, tenements, and windmill, which they have by the feoffment of Richard del Crosse, in the towns of Wigan and Liverpool.

Given on the Feast of St. Barnabas [June 11], 20 Henry VI [1442].

Seal of red wax: small Lombardic letter H.

No. 142. *Liverpool.*

1459. Quitclaim from John More, of Lyverpull, and Richard Dwerehows, of Hale-wood, to John Crosse, of all their right in two selions of land, which he holds by their concession. Witnesses:

John Wolton, Jacob Harebron, Hugh Harebron, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on the 15th day of August, 37 Henry VI [1459].

Small seal of red wax: a pelican in her piety.

No. 143. *Kenyon.*

1416. Roger Banastre acknowledges the Receipt of ten marks from Mathew de Kenyon, Receiver of the King in the Duchy of Lancaster, granted him for life, payable at Easter and Michaelmas.

Dated 4th March, 4 Henry V [1416].

No. 144. *Lathum.*

1464/5. Indenture between Alianora Stanley and Jamys S[tanley], clerk, on the one part, and Rowland fil. Eustas, knight, and Elizabeth his wife, on the other part, whereby Alianora and James promise to maintain and aid John Crosse in all the lands and tenements that Rowland hath in right of his wife, so that if any attempt be made to molest any of Rowland's tenants, Alianora and James will see they have lawful redress, and for this Rowland agrees to give yearly during his espousals with Elizabeth a Robe of Ireland, or 40^{s}, to be paid by the hands of John Crosse.

Given at Lathum, the 18th of January, 4 Edward IV [1464/5]. [In old English].

Two small seals of red wax, each bearing a hart lodged.

No. 145. *St. Asaph.*

1468. James Stanley, clerk, custodian of all the spiritualities and temporalities of the diocese of St. Asaph (Assanen), lets to farm, to Howell ap Jenn Vaughan, the Church of Llannassaph, Assanen, in the said diocese, from the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James, for one year: Rendering to the above James £16 at the Feast of the

Apostles Peter and Paul; Howell to bear all the burdens for that time.

Dated the 18th of May, 1468.

No. 146. *Pemberton.*

1470. Hugh Worsley grants a full receipt for all arrears on account of a messuage, lands, and tenements, in Pemberton, to John, the son of Hugh Pemberton.

Dated the 8th of October, 10 Edward IV [1470]. [Imperfect.]

No. 147. *Liverpool.*

1470. Bond in £40 given by Richard Gillibrond, of Lathum, Nicholas Hyton, and Gilbert Burscogh, of the county of Lancaster, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, to be paid at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist: The condition is that Richard shall observe the Covenants in a Deed of Marriage between Edmond Gilibrond, his son and heir, and Margaret Crosse.

Given on the 18th of December, 10 Edward IV [1470].

Seal of red wax: two swords saltire-wise, points downwards.

No. 148. *Liverpool.*

1471. Bond in £100, given by Dame Elenor Longton, of Wygan, Henry Longton, her son and heir, and Richard Birkenhead, son and heir of Henry Birkenhead, of Wygan, to John Crosse, of Lyverpole, to be paid at the Nativity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin.

Given on the 6th of July, 11 Edward IV [1471].

The condition of the bond being that Dame Elenor and Henry shall abide by the award of Edmund Crosse and Henry Birkenhead, Arbitrators, as to all differences concerning lands in Wigan, to this date between Dame Elenor and Henry, on the one part, and John Crosse of Lyverpole, on the other part: The award to be given under seals before the Feast of the Assumption.

No. 148*. *Liverpool.*

1471. Award made by Edmund Crosse and Henry Birkenhead, Arbitrators between John Crosse, of Lyverpole, on the one hand, and Dame Elenor Longton, and Henry Longton, her son and heir, on the other part, awarding to each party certain lands in Wigan.

Given on Monday, before the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady the Virgin [12th August], 11th Edward IV [1471].

No. 149. *Liverpool.*

1472. Grant from John Wodes, and Alice his wife, of Lyverpull, to John Crosse, of one selion of land, called Le Dobul lond, lying between the Crosses, in the field of Lyverpull, viz. two hallands lying upon the road leading to the Breke, and one halland on the same road, between the selion, late of Derby, on the north, and land of the late John More, on the south. Witnesses:

Hugh Harebron, then Mayor of Lpverpull, Robert More, Roger Walton, and others.

Given at Lyverpull, on the 20th day of May, 12 Edward IV [1472].

No. 150. *Liverpool.*

1472. Quitclaim from John Wodes, of Lyverpull, and Alicia, his wife, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, of all their right in one selion of land in the field of Lyverpull, as per charter given to the said John Crosse, and of which he is in full possession.

Given at Lyverpull, the 21st of May, 12 Edward IV [1472].

No. 151. *Liverpool.*

c. 1472. Quitclaim from John Wodes, of Lyverpull, to John Crosse, of all his right and title to two selions of land in the Galow-ffeld, in the field of Lyverpull. Witnesses:

Robert More, Roger Walton, and Robert Swyndeley.

No. 152. *Liverpool.*

1472/3. Bond in £20 from Nicholas ffazakerley, son and heir of William ffazakerley, of the county of Lancaster, gentleman, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, to be paid at Michaelmas.

Given on the 20th day of February, 12 Edward IV [1472/3].

The Condition of the bond is that Nicholas shall make a sufficient feoffment and release unto John Crosse of a burgage in Le Dale Strete, lying between the tenement of the said John and that of Robert of Preston, after the decease of William ffazakerley, his father.

Small oval seal of red wax: a pentacle within a circle. [In English.]

No. 153. *Liverpool.*

1473. Quitclaim from John Wodes, of Lyverpull, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, of all his right in one tenement

in Lyverpull, as in a charter conveying it to John Crosse more fully appears. Witnesses.

Robert More, Christopher Dey, Richard Secum, and many others.

Given at Lyverpull, on the 1st of June, 13 Edward IV [1473].

Curious seal of brown wax: Lombardic lettter T and a holly leaf.

No. 154. *Liverpool.*

1473. Grant from Nicholas ffazakerley, son and heir of William ffazakerley, late of Kyrkeby, co. Lanc. to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, of one plot of land, burgage in Le Dale strete, in the town of Lyverpull, lying between the burgage of the said John on the west and that of Robert Preston on the east. Witnesses:

John Davenport, then Mayor of the said Town, Robert Swyndeley and Thomas Wodeley, then Bailiffs, Hugh Harebron, Thomas Harebron, and many others.

Given at Lyverpull on the 20th of December, 13 Edward IV [1473].

No. 155. *Liverpool.*

1473. Quitclaim from Nicholas ffazakyrley, son and heir of William ffazakerley, late of Kyrkeby, co. Lanc., of all his right in a plot of land, or burgage, in Lyverpull, now in his full possession, as by a charter more fully appears.

Given at Lyverpull, the 24th day of December, 13 Edward IV [1473].

Small seal of brown wax: a fleur-de-lis.

No. 156. *Liverpool.*

1489. Grant from Henry Botyll, of Kirkdale, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, of one selion of land in the field of Lyverpull, in Le Wayte-yorth [White Earth], between the selion of Robert More, on the south, and that of Robert Mosse, on the north: And Henry appoints John Wisewall to be his attorney in giving seisin to John Crosse. Witnesses:

Thomas Eves, Thomas Harebrowne, and Richard Wisewall, with many others.

Given at Lyverpull, on the 20th of June, 4 Henry VII [1489].

No. 157. *Walton.*

1494. Bond in £40 given by James Molyneux, Rector of the Church of Sefton, Laurence Molyneux, his brother, and

Agnes, his sister, the wife of Edmund Winstanley, to Richard Crosse of Walton, to be paid at Pentecost.

Dated on the 9th of June, 9 Henry VII [1494].

The Condition of the bond being that James Molyneux, parson of the parish church of Sefton, shall truly perform the Covenants in a pair of Indentures of the above date, made between the said James and Richard.

No. 158. *Wavertree.*

1497. Grant from William Brown, of Penketh, to John Crosse, of Lyverpole, of a parcel of land in the Lordship of Wartre, in the occupation of John Plombe, also of land occupied by Henry Milner, also of another parcel occupied by John Pasmyth, and of a parcel in James Hiton's occupation; And the grantor appoints Robert Lake his Attorney to give seisin to John Crosse. Witnesses:

John Toxtath, Nicholas ffasacerley, and John Pasmyth, with others.

Given at Waretre, the 10th of July, 12 Henry VII [1497].

Small seal of red wax, shewing initials T.P. below a crown.

No. 159. *Wavertree.*

1497. Grant from William Brown, of Penketh, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, of a parcel of land in the Lordship of Wartr', in the tenure of Henry Elison: And the grantor appoints Robert Lake to be his Attorney to give seisin to John Crosse. Witnesses:

Nicholas ffasakirly, John Toxtath, James Toxtath, and others.

Given at Wartre on the 7th of July, 12 Henry VII [1497].

No. 160. *Wavertree.*

1497. Quitclaim from Gilbert, son and heir apparent of William Brown, to John Crosse, of Lyverpole, of all his right and title in the lands which William his father sold to John Crosse, who is now in full possession thereof. Witnesses:

Nicholas ffazacreley, John Pasmith, and others.

Given at Wartr' on the 14th of July, 12 Henry VII [1497].

No. 161.

Liverpool and West Derby.

1497/8. Grant by Nicholas, son of Elizabeth ffazakerley, late wife of William ffazakerley, of Kirkeby, to John Crosse, of Lyverpull, of his reversion, after his mother's death,

in a plot of land called Snodam in [West] Derby, in the occupation of Roger Burgess. Witnesses:

William More, Thomas Ewys, Richard Wyswall, and others.

Given at Lyverpull on the 7th of March, 13 Henry VII [1497/8].

No. 162.

Charnok, Chorley, and Speke.

1498. Grant from Robert Chernoke, Esq., to Henry Crichelawe, chaplain, William Michael, Thomas Lawrence, Esq., Hugh Adlington, and George Tarleton, of a messuage in Chernok-Richard, late in the tenure of Christopher Ryding; also of a messuage in Chorley occupied by William Hyndesley; of another messuage in Chorley, in the tenure of John Carlill; of one other messuage in Chorley, in the tenure of William Thomson; of one messuage in Chernok, occupied by Jacob Hayle; of one close of land, in Asteley and Chorley, called the Judland; of eight acres of meadow in Rugh-Asteley and Chorley; also of meadow and pasture lands in Speke, lately held by Jacob Whitlyng, William Chaloner, junior, William Penulton, Robert Glest, William Chaloner, senior, Tho. Stevynson, Tho. Penulton, Will. Nicholson, Jacob Plombe, Tho. Mercer, Henr' Jenkynson; and of a messuage in Speke, lately held by Will. Witlyng:

Also he confirms to the above an annual rent of 4s. issuing from land and a tenement of Tho. Hyndesley's in Chernok Richard; an annual rent of 3s. 7d., from land, &c., of Jacob Bank, in the same place; an annual rent of 3s. from land, &c, of Oliver Chernok, in the same place:

Robert and Margery, his wife, to hold for their lives, then to the right heirs of Robert: If disturbed, the feoffes may sell for the use of Robert and Margery: And the said Robert Chernoke appoints Will. Calson and Edm. Hoghe his attorneys to give seisin. Witnesses:

Roger Syngleton, John Calvert, Richard Burscoghe, gent., and others.

Dated the 26th of March, 13 Henry VII [1498].

No. 163. *Huyton.*

1500/1. George, son and heir of Edmund Lathum, of Knowsley, (E)van Haghton, of Lyverpull, John Mercer, of Lathum, and Ralph Bury, son and heir of Thomas

Bury, of Roby, to Richard Crosse, of Walton, son and heir of John Crosse, of Lyverpull, Esq. . .

Bond in £40. Dated 20th February, 16 Henry VII [1500/1].

Condition: To keep Richard Crosse harmless "anendez" Hamnet Haryngton, by reason of an Obligation in which Richard is bound with John Bellerby, of Huyton, to the said Hamnet in £40, touching a rent for lands in Huyton.

Two seals of brown wax: on one of them a rude letter M.

No. 164. *Liverpool.*

1502. Grant from Richard Crosse, son and heir of John Crosse, of Lyverpull, to William Crosse, his brother, and son of the said John, of one tenement, with houses and gardens, in le Dale strete, in Lyverpull, in the tenure of Henry Piombe, and of two buildings with chambers, next the Cross in the said Town. Witnesses:

James Molyneux, rector of Sefton, John Ireland, kt., William More, esq., Thomas Eyvys, David Griffith, William Bolton, chaplain, William Harebrowne, and others.

Given at Lyverpull on the 10th September, 18 Henry VII [1502].

No. 165. *Holand.*

1504. Grant from Agnes Crosse, late wife of John Crosse, in pure widowhood, to Hugh, son of Hngh Tunstall, of a messuage, with lands, tenements, meadows, and pastures in Holand, for the life of said Agnes; Rendering yearly to the grantor eight shillings at Christmas and the Nativity of St. John Baptist: Power of distress if rent be 24 days in arrear. Witnesses:

John Birkenhed, Richard Faireclogh, Richard Taberner, and others.

Given the 7th of November, 20 Henry VII. [In English].

No. 166. *Heley.*

1504/5. Thurstan Anderton, Esq., and Oliver Anderton, his son and heir apparent, to Richard Crosse, Esq. Bond in two hundred pounds, payable at the Nativity of St. John Baptist.

Dated 3rd of March, 20 Henry VII [1504/5].

Condition: To abide the award of "Maister John "Chaloner, mon of lawe," concerning the right and title to certain lands and tenements called Heley,

within the Lordship of Chorley; the award to be delivered before Easter.

Seal of red wax: on a heater-shaped shield an old English letter c.

No. 167. *Liverpool.*

1505. Quitclaim from . . . ., late wife of John Crosse, of Lyverpull, to Master John Crosse, clerk, executor of the Will of the said John Crosse, Esq., deceased, Richard Crosse, gent., and William Crosse, brother of the said John Crosse, in respect of all actions or quarrels of Richard Crosse, gent., and William Crosse, his brother, John Crosse, clerk, and Richard Crosse, gent., on account of any title or claim she had at her late husband's death.

Dated 13th of August, 20 Henry VII.

No. 168. *Liverpool.*

1505. John Ireland, late of Hale, in the county of Lancaster, knt., to Richard Crosse, late of Lyverpull, Esq. Bond in four pounds, payable at Easter. Dated 24th December, 21 Henry VII [1505]. Condition: The said Richard Crosse to have peaceable occupation of lands and burgages in War'tre and Liverpool, conveyed to him by the said Sir John Ireland by a pair of Indentures of even date with the Bond.

No. 169. *Litherland and Ford.*

1505/6. Grant from William Davy to Richard Crosse, of Lyverpull, Esq., and Hugh Raynforth, chaplain, of all his messuages, tenements, &c., in Lydyrlond and ffordejuxta-Sefton, in the county of Lancaster: Attorns Roger Crosse to deliver seisin. Witnesses:

William Molyneux, Esq., William More, Esq., John Haydock, and others.

Given at Litherland the 6th of February, 21 Henry 7. [1505/6].

No. 170. *Liverpool and Fazakerley.*

1507. Grant from John Crosse, clerk, Rector of St. Nicholas in ffleche Shamollys, in London, to John fflecher, chaplain, John, son of Richard Crosse, Thomas, son of George Raynford, William More, and Evan Haghton, gent., Roger ffasakerley, and William Lake, of Lyrpole, their heirs and assigns, of all his lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, mill pond, woods, rents, &c., in Lyrpole, or elsewhere, in co. Lanc. He also gives to the same persons all the lands, tenements, &c., in

ffasakerley, which he holds by the feoffment of his relation, Hugh Botehyll, clerk; also the premises bought of William Lyghtwodde in the same township. He makes this grant for the fulfilment of his last Will:

Dated 16th April, 22 Henry 7 [1507].

No. 171.

Walton-on-the-Hill and Adlington.

1509. Grant from Roger, son and heir of Richard Crosse, late of Lyverpole, to Richard Crosse, his father, for life, all his messuages, lands, tenements, &c., in Walton, near Lyverpole, and in Adlington, co. Lanc., which he inherited from Elizabeth, his mother, one of the daughters and heiresses of Roger Walton, late of Walton; also all the messuages, lands, &c., which he had by the gift of his father. Remainder, after his father's death, to John Crosse, chaplain, his brother, for life; Remainder to Robert, brother of John, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; Remainder to Richard, brother of William, and his heirs and assigns for ever: John Coke to deliver seisin. Witnesses:

William Molyneux, Esq., William More, Esq., William Chorley, Nicholas Fazakyrley, Richard Standish, and others.

Given at Walton, on the 18th day of June, 1 Henry VIII [1509].

No. 171*.

Counterpart of No. 170.

No. 172. *Tunstyd.*

1512. Beatrix, daughter and heiress of George Pemberton, to John Crosse, clerk, rector of All Saints', Turvey, co. Bedford.

Bond in one hundred pounds, payable at the Feast of St. John Baptist next.

Dated 15th November, 4 Henry VIII [1512].

Condition: She not to alienate or sell any lands, tenements, &c., belonging to her as one of the daughters and heiresses of George Pemberton, son of John Pemberton, late of Tunstyd, co. Lanc., gent., except to her own sisters and to her heirs, and only with the assent of said John Crosse, who hath borne charges for the recovery of the said premises from Hugh Pemberton, uncle of the said Beatrix.

No. 172*.

Counterpart of No. 172.

No. 173. *Liverpool.*

1513. Grant from Richard Crosse, of Chorley, gent., to William, his son, and Blanche and Margaret, his daughters, of one tenement in Le Chapell Strete, in Lyverpole, now in the occupation of Robert Sudale; one close in Lyverpole, in the occupation of Richard Dowse, and another close called the Middle Hey, now in the occupation of John Rose, and another close in the occupation of John Haydok; and twelve selions in Le Shrefe-acres, and five selions upon Le See Bonke; two selions upon Le See Bonke, in the occupation of Richard Plowmbe; For their joint lives and the life of the survivor of them; Remainder to the grantor: Robert Chorley to deliver seisin.

Dated 24th day of June, 5 Henry VIII [1513].

No. 174. *Liverpool.*

1514. Lease from Richard Crosse, of Lyverpole, "squyer," and Roger, his son and heir-apparent, to Adam Dandy, late of Lyverpole, for forty years from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next, of a parcel of ground in the Dale Strete in Lyverpole, lying between grounds of Thomas Secom on the east, and grounds belonging to the Altar of St. Nicholas, within the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Lyverpole, on the west, upon which the said Adam hath reared a house of three bays in length; paying yearly two pence at Michaelmas: The lessee to keep the house in tenantable repair: Power of distraint if the rent be in arrear for twelve days.

Given 20th day of August, 6 Henry VIII [1514].

Signatures of Ryc Crosse and Rog' Crosse. [In English.]

No. 174.*

Counterpart of No. 174.

No. 175. *Chorley.*

1515. Richard Crosse, of the co. of Lancaster, gentleman, to Roger Breres, yeoman and draper in the same county, Covenants on the Marriage of the said Roger with Blanche Crosse, daughter of the said Richard, which is to take place before Pentecost next: The said Roger is to receive twenty pounds of lawful money of England, at St. John Baptist and St. Martin in winter, at the hands of the said Richard.

Dated at Chorley the 6th day of May, 7 Henry VIII [1515]. [In English].

No. 176. *Childwall and Walton.*

1519. Decree of the Official of the Bishop of Chester, dissolving the Marriage of Letitia Norres, of Childwall parish, with Roger Crosse, of the parish of Walton, for want of consent, their parents having compulsorily espoused them when children.

Dated the 12th day of December, 1519.

[Partly frayed away].

No. 177. *Barton-on-Irwell.*

1521. John Bothe, Rector of Barton upon Yrwyll, to Laurence Asshow, gent. Bond in forty pounds, payable at Pentecost. Dated 8th day of May, 13 Henry VIII [1521]. Condition: The said John Bothe, before the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr next, to grant a lease to the said Laurence Asshow of the Tithe of Holme in Barton, in the co. of Lanc., which John Paslow, Abbot of Whalley, granted to Sir John Bothe, knt., father of the above bounden John Bothe, for certain years yet to come; and to keep the said Laurence harmless in the enjoyment of the same, and to pay to the said Laurence seven marks before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing, and also all such sums of money as the said Laurence has paid and laid out for the use of the said John. [In English.]

Signature of Jno. Both.

No. 178. *Liverpool, &c.*

1530. Grant from John Crosse, clerk, Rector of Mulso, co. Bucks, to Sir Ewins Quykk, clerk, Geo. Goldwell and William Dowse, of all his lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, woods, &c., which were formerly held by John Crosse, his grandfather, in Lyverpole, Kyrkdale, Darby, Wartre, Holand, Heley, Knowseley, Wolton Magna, Wolton Parva, and Wigan, in the county of Lancaster, which came to him by inheritance after the death of Roger Crosse, his brother: Except all those messuages, lands, &c., which John Mordaunt, jun^{r}, and Edmund ffeteplace, esq^{rs}, Roger Hoggeson, and Henry Holywell, held by his feoffment in Coppull, in co. Lanc., also a tenement in Heth Charnok, in the same county, as per charter dated 24th June, 20 Henry VIII, for the fulfilment of his last Will and Testament. Attorns Humphrey Crosse, clerk,[1] and Richard Dowse, husbandman, to deliver seisin.

[1] Priest of the chantry of St. Katherine's, Liverpool.

Dated the 12th day of October, 22 Henry VIII [1530].

Small round seal of red wax: a stork proper.

No. 179. *Liverpool.*

1533. James Crosse, gent., brother and heir of John Crosse, clerk, deceased, William Westby, and James Wynstanley, to Roger Breres, George Garstan, yeoman, Blanche, wife of Roger Breres, and Margaret, wife of George Garstan, sisters of said John Crosse: Bond in four hundred marks, payable on St. John Baptist's day next. Dated 4th April, 24 Henry VIII [1533].

Condition: To keep and perform the Award of Laurence Ireland and Laurence Asshow on behalf of James Crosse, and of Thomas Bulkeley, clerke, parson of Brynhill, and of Robert Swansey, on behalf of Roger and George, concerning the messuages, lands, &c., which belonged to John Crosse, Richard Crosse, and John Crosse, clerk, son and heir of Richard, all deceased: The Award to be made with the assent of Henry Farington and Roger Asshowe.

Signature of James Crosse.

No. 180. *Liverpool.*

1532/3. James Wynstanley, Laurence Ireland, and Laurence Asshowe, complainants, against Roger Breres, and Blanche, his wife, and George Garstan, and Margaret, his wife, defendants.

Final Concord concerning 16 messuages, 200 acres of land, 10 of meadow, 300 of pasture, 20 of wood, 300 of heath and furze, and 10 shillings rent in Lyverpole, Magna Wolton, [West] Darby, Wartre, Everton, Coppul, Guilborn, Heth Charnok, and Kirkdale, lately held by Edward Crosse, William Dowse, and Johanna, late wife of William Crosse deceased, for their lives, being the heritage of the aforesaid Blanche and Margaret: And for this Fine and Release the said Laurence, James, and Laurence gave to Roger, Blanche, George, and Margaret, one hundred pounds.

Dated at Lancaster, Monday, 5th week of Lent, 25 Henry VIII [1532-3].

No. 181. *Liverpool.*

1534. Deed Poll, whereby James Crosse, citizen and goldsmith of London, acknowledges the receipt, from Roger Asshawe, of the co. of Lancaster, Esq., of £9 6s. 8d., in full satisfaction of one hundred marks sterling in

accordance with an Indenture of Covenants made on the marriage of John Crosse, son and heir of the said James, with Alice, daughter of the said Roger, as per Indenture dated 11th October, 25 Henry VIII.

Dated the 17th day of November, 26 Henry VIII [1534]. Signed p me James Crosse.

No. 182. *Liverpool: Crosse Hall,*

1538. Grant from Johanna Crosse, widow, relict of William Crosse, brother and heir of John Crosse, clerk, deceased, to James Anderton, gen', and Christopher Hogh, gen', of that capital messuage, called Crosse Hall, with lands and tenements adjoining, in Lyverpole; also all the lands, &c., which she had in the fields of Lyverpole, and Walton near Lyverpole, for the term of her life, on condition that the said James and Christopher shall before Easter next, re-convey the said capital messuage to her for life.

Dated 1st March, 29 Henry VIII [1538].

No. 183. *Liverpool.*

1538. Grant by James Anderton, Christopher Hogh, Thomas Banastre, chaplain, and Thomas, son of Rich. Banastre, Esq., to Johanna Crosse, widow of William Crosse, brother and heir of John Crosse, clerk, deceased, of the capital messuage called Crosse Hall, in Lyverpole, and lands in the fields of Lyverpole and Walton, which they hold by the feoffment of the said Johanna Crosse, for her life. They attorn Thomas Walbank and Thomas Ball to deliver seisin.

Dated 14th day of April, 29 Henry VIII [1538].

No. 184. *Liverpool, &c.*

1538. Roger Ashowe, esq., and Laurence Asshowe, gent., complainants, against James Crosse, defendant.

Final Concord at Lancaster, concerning 25 messuages, 300 acres of land, 40 of meadow, 200 of pasture, 10 of wood, 300 of heath and furze, 100 of turbary, and 10^{s} rent, in Lyverpole, Everton, Magna Wolton, Parva Wolton, [West] Derby, Coppull, Heth Chernok, Wygan, and Golbourn. For this concession and fine the said Roger and Laurence paid to the said James one hundred pounds sterling.

No. 184*.

Counterpart of No. 184.

No. 185. *Heath Charnock.*

1538. James Crosse, citizen and goldsmith of London, to Roger Asshawe, of Heth Charnok, in co. Lanc.

Bond in three hundred pounds sterling, payable at Christmas: If not paid, to be subject to Statute Staple.

Dated 19th day of November, 30 Henry VIII [1538]. [No condition.] Signature: p me Jamyes Crosse.

Three seals of red wax: on one a Tudor rose beneath a royal crown; another shows the Crosse crest, a stork proper; the third is an impression of an antique gem.

No. 186. *Liverpool.*

1539. The rent of Lyȝpole due at the Annũciacion last past payed by Rob't Mosse vnto Laur' Asshowe, xx^th^ day of Aprill Anno tricẽsio Henr' octaui.

In p'ms of John Edmũdson - - - - -	x^s^	
It̃ for the Mylne xi^s^ viii^d^ vnde Dño Regi et sic recepi - - - iij^d^		
It̃ Robt Mosse for betenhey - - - - -	x^s^	
It̃ Thõs Dowse - - - - - - - - - -	iiij^s^	ix^d^
Idm Thomas for Wod'hey - - - - -	iij^s^	
Vx' Henr' Colne for hyr pt of the howse -		
It̃ John Barker for his part - - - - -		xxj^d^
Margaret Crosseby for hyr howse - - -		ij^d^
Vx' Edwarde Shirelakers - - - - - -		xv^d^
John Valentine - - - - - - - - -		xvj^d^
Elsabeth Barker - - - - - - - - -		xv^d^
Vx' Brodeheyde - - - - - - - - -	ij^s^	vj^d^
Robt Asspes for ffysshe yords - - - -		xvj^d^
Elsabeth Dike - - - - - - - - -	ij^s^	vj^d^
Sm̃, xlij^s^ iij^d^		
It̃ payed by the said Robt to the said Laur' the arrerage of Michaelmas rent left due in the tyme of James Crosse -	xij^s^	
Whereof the said Laur' delyuȝ to the said Robt for the burde of Thõs. Crosse due afor Andrews day last - - - - - -	iij^s^	
And the residue of the said xii^s^ is in the hands of the said Laur' to pay to the said James.		
M^d^ Delyuȝ by the said Laur' to the said Robȝ for the burde of the said Thomas Scole hyr and Capp syth Andrews day last - - - - - - - - - - - -	x^s^	
It̃ deliũȝ to the said Robt for his labor -	ij^s^	
Et remanet Clare xxix^s^ v^d^		

M^d receyued from Robt Mosse by the hands of Wiłłm Dowse at Manches^r payed to the hands of my broth^r Laur' the xxv^th day of Octobr A° tricẽsio p̃mo Henr' octaui of the Michaelmas Rents of Lyu̯pole due last past - - - - - v.

[On paper, side frayed.]

No. 187. *London.*

1545. Nicholas Mighell, of London, beer-brewer, to James Crosse, citizen and goldsmith, of London: Quitclaim of all actions and demands, by reason of a bond of the said James. [No particulars given.]

Dated 4th day of December, 37 Henry VIII [1545].

Signature: p me Nychlis Shygell.

REPORT, 1891.

During the year 1891, two non-resident life members, twenty-seven resident members, and thirty-two non-resident members, in all sixty-one, have joined the Society. During the same period, two non-resident life-members, one resident member, five non-resident members, and one honorary member have died, while six resident and five non-resident members have resigned, and one resident member has become non-resident, involving a loss of twenty-one members in all.

Among the members who have died are—His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, a Vice-President, and Life Member since 1857 ; Sir Richard Owen, K.C.B., F.R.S , an Honorary Member, full of years and honours ; Mr. John George Woodhouse, a Life Member since 1855 ; Colonel Humberston, a Member for forty years ; the able proprietor of the *Manchester Courier*, Sir Thos. Sowler ; and a well-known Lancashire antiquary, who contributed several valuable papers to the Society's *Transactions*, the Reverend Thomas Ellison Gibson, formerly Priest at Lydiate, whose funeral there was attended by the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary on behalf of the Society, on the 29th day of January.

Among the Subscribing Members who have joined this year it is especially pleasing to announce the Library of the British Museum, the National Library of Ireland, and the Library of Stonyhurst College.

During the year there have been revivals of two old customs : one, the opening of the Autumn Session with an Address, this year given by a Vice-President of the Society, Mr. John Paul Rylands, F.S.A., after which there was an exhibition of "curios," the property of the Society and of others, arranged by Mr. Charles Potter, the Curator, with great success. The other, the revival of the "Annual Excursion," which took place on Saturday, June 20th, under the able guidance of Mr. James Bromley and Mr. John Hargreaves, who conducted a party of members and their friends, some forty in number, to Stonyhurst College, Mytton Church, Little Mytton Hall, and the Church and Abbey of Whalley, printed copies of a carefully-prepared account of which, from the pen of Mr. Bromley, were distributed among the party *en route*. Over the interesting buildings at Stonyhurst the visitors were taken with great courtesy by the Rector of the College and Father John Gerard, S.J. ; while at Mytton Church the Vicar, though in very indifferent health, carefully pointed out the various objects of interest in his care. Mr. Hicks, of Little Mytton Hall, and Colonel Hargreaves, of Whalley Abbey, though absent from home, had left directions that every facility for seeing their respective properties should be given to the Society ; and at Whalley Church, the Vicar's representative efficiently "lionized" the party. Excellent meals were pro-

vided at Mytton and Whalley, and throughout the day everything was done, both by conductors and hosts, which could conduce to the comfort and entertainment of the party, to whom the "Excursion" seems to have given a great deal of pleasure.

During the year, ten papers have been read, all of them directly bearing on the history or antiquities of Lancashire or Cheshire, to fairly numerous audiences.

MEMBERS ELECTED, 1891.

Jan. 8. Rev. S. A. Thompson-Yates.
,, 8. George Porter.
,, 22. Paul Springmann.
,, 22. T. R. Russell.
,, 22. T. Ratcliffe Ellis.
Feb. 5. F. J. Harrison.
,, 5. Rev. H. W. Bretherton.
,, 5. Rev. the Hon. W. Trevor Kenyon.
,, 5. Rev. W. Stuart White.
,, 5. F. Stapleton-Bretherton.
,, 5. T. W. Oakshott.
,, 5. Robert Head.
,, 5. George Pearson.
,, 5. W. H. Bleckly.
,, 5. W. D. Jeans.
,, 5. J. Harris Gibson.
,, 5. Rev. C. L. Reynolds.
,, 5. Wm. Mather.
Feb. 19. T. Byrne Sill.
,, 19. Arthur Shute.
,, 19. H. A. Birley.
,, 19. J. W. Ryland.
,, 19. Lt.-Col. R. A. ffarington.
,, 19. Wm. Mayler.
Mar. 5. W. Ecroyd.
,, 5. W. S. Weeks.
,, 5. Rev. C. C. Elcum.
Mar. 19. Peter Stubs (Life).
,, 19. Rev. Geo. Ellis.
,, 19. R. J. Elliott.
Mar. 19. Mrs. Alfred Fletcher.
,, 19. J. G. Brown.
,, 19. Rev. John Watson.
,, 19. R. H. Day.
,, 19. R. J. Richardson.
,, 19. Edmund Cook.
Nov. 5. George Fletcher.
,, 5. A. C. Grylls.
,, 5. Walter Holland.
,, 5. Giles Shaw.
,, 5. L. O. Hess.
,, 5. Mrs. Park-Yates.
,, 5. Rev. E. F. Letts.
,, 5. Stonyhurst College Library.
,, 5. F. Dalley.
,, 5. British Museum Library.
,, 5. National Library of Ireland.
,, 5. Walter Russell.
,, 5. James Roscoe.
,, 5. Egerton Castle.
,, 5. Col. C. S. Mainwaring.
,, 5. Lt.-Col. H. J. Robinson.
Nov. 19. Miss E. D. Woodhouse.
,, 19. George Wynne.
,, 19. T. H. Hope.
,, 19. Rev. F. Sanders.
Dec. 3. Henry Bell.
,, 3. J. D. Fox.
Dec. 17. W. A. Thomas.
,, 17. Major J. W. R. Parker.
,, 17. G. W. Rigg.

PAPERS READ, 1891.

Jan. 8. "Masons' Marks at Birkenhead and Burscough Priories, and Ormskirk Church." W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A.

,, 22. "Two Court Rolls of the Manor of Little Crosby." Augustine Watts, M.A.

Feb. 5. "Some Notes on Spellow House." John Thompson,

,, 5. "Recent Roman 'Finds' at Chester." Edward W. Cox.

,, 19. "Overchurch Runic Stone." Rev. Wilfrid Dallow.

,, 19. "Notes on Ancient Buildings at Overchurch." Edward W. Cox.

Mar. 5.	"Richard, 2nd Viscount Molyneux."	T. Algernon Earle. R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.
,, 19.	"Ordsall Hall, Salford."	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.
Nov. 5.	Address by J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., a Vice-President of the Society.	
,, 19.	"History of the Pilkington Family, from A.D. 1066 to 1600." Part I.	
Dec. 3.	Ditto	ditto. Part II. Lt.-Col. John Pilkington.
,, 17.	"Some Antiquities of Macclesfield."	J. F. A. Lynch.

REPORT, 1892.

During the year 1892 twelve Resident and six Non-Resident Members have joined the Society, while eight Members have died, and eight have resigned.

Amongst those removed by death are Mr. J. Harris Gibson, who died on the 2nd May. He first joined the Society in 1875, was at one time its Curator, and for many years he was a constant exhibitor of rare coins, curios, and works of art at its meetings. On the 14th of January Mr. Edward Whitley died, who, though only a Member for four years, was for a long period one of Liverpool's most respected citizens, and for twelve years one of the Parliamentary representatives of the city. Having been forty-one years a Member, the Rev. John Whitley, Rector of Newton-in-Makerfield and Honorary Canon of Liverpool, died July 4th. On the 11th of the same month Lord Winmarleigh passed away, at the patriarchial age of 92 years and 3 months, in the forty-third year of his Life Membership, a man of whom Lancashire, and indeed England, may be justly proud, one of a race fast dying out, alas! "*Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.*"

During the year Committees consisting of Members of the Society and others have been formed to co-operate with a Committee of the Liverpool City Council in placing tablets on the birthplaces of eminent inhabitants, and with leading townspeople of Birkenhead to conserve and repair the ruins of Birkenhead Priory, which sorely need such care. A Committee, to co-operate with one consisting of Members of the Chester Archæological Society, for the purposes both Societies have at heart, was named, and has worked with good results.

Ten meetings of the Society were held during the Session, and as many papers read on subjects connected with the history or archæology of the Counties of Lancaster and Chester.

The largest and best illustrated volume of *Transactions* which the Society has put forth, being that for the year 1890, was issued to Members in the month of August.

On 23rd of June the Annual Excursion took place, obligingly and ably conducted by Messrs. James Bromley and John Hargreaves. At Lancaster the party—which, owing to unfavourable weather, numbered only forty-one—was met by Mr. W. O. Roper, Town Clerk of Lancaster, who showed them over the Church of St. Mary and the Castle, and afterwards explained the objects of interest at Heysham, proving himself, as a cicerone, *facile princeps*.

MEMBERS ELECTED, 1892.

Jan. 28. George Grierson.
,, 11. William F. Price.
Feb. 25. Wm. Hesketh Lever.
,, 25. Geo. James Lyell.
,, 25. Edwin A. Beazley.
Mar. 10. Jas. Darcy Lever.
,, 24. C. F. B. Wilson.
Nov. 3. C. E. R. Radclyffe.
,, 3. T. Herbert Cockbain.
Nov. 3. Miss G. A. L. Pritt.
,, 3. Warrington Museum.
,, 3. Detroit Public Library.
,, 3. Joseph B. Morgan.
,, 3. Philip J. Worsley.
,, 3. Wm. Leeman.
,, 3. Rev. Fred Smith.
Dec. 1. Chapple Gill.
,, 15. Rev. J. Wright Williams.

PAPERS READ, 1892.

Jan, 14. "An Account of Wallasey, by Mr. Robinson, Schoolmaster there in 1720 ; with further remarks on the ancient Parish." W. C. Ashby Pritt.

,, 28. "Notes on Records and Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Liverpool." Henry Peet, F.S.A., Churchwarden.

Feb. 11. "The Meols (Cheshire) Shore, in its Geological and Archæological aspects." Charles Potter.

,, 25. "Liverpool in the great Civil War ; from unpublished Letters and Papers of Colonel John Moore, Governor of the Town for the Parliament." Part I.

Mar. 10. Ditto. Ditto. Part II. George Grazebrook, F.S.A.

,, 24. "An old Racing Stable at Wallasey." Arthur Cox.

Nov. 3. "Traces of ancient British occupation on the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales." Edward W. Cox.

,, 17. "Place Names in the Hundred of Wirral." W. Fergusson Irvine.

Dec. 1. "Disclaimers at the Heralds' Visitations." J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.

,, 15. "Monastic Houses in Lancashire." Rev. J. Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B

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THOMAS BRAKELL LIMITED, TYP., 58, DALE STREET, LIVERPOOL.

Summary of Accounts of Receipts and Payments for the year 1890.

To Balance from 1889			£113	9	3
,, Subscriptions received			150	3	0
Viz. :—For 1890	£114	19	0		
Arrears	33	2	0		
In advance	2	2	0		
,, Sale of Society's *Transactions*			16	14	6
			£280	6	9

Audited and found correct,
J. Paul Rylands.

Sessional Expenses—						
Fire Insurance	£0	16	0			
T. Brakell, Printing, &c.	29	14	8			
E. Doling, Teas, &c.	6	15	10			
Rent	10	10	0			
Secretary's and Treasurer's Expenses, carriage of parcels, &c.	8	17	3			
				£56	13	9
Vol. 38—Indexing				2	12	6
,, 39—Indexing				2	12	6
,, 40—Printing, indexing, and illustrations				75	19	6
,, 41—Printing, indexing, and on account of illustrations	£116	13	2			
Less Mr. F. J. Leslie's donation	5	0	0			
				111	13	2
Balance carried forward				30	15	4
				£280	6	9

H. D. Eshelby,
Hon. Treasurer.

Summary of Accounts of Receipts and Payments for the year 1891.

To Balance from 1890			£30	15	4
,, Subscriptions received			246	15	6
,, Sale of Society's *Transactions*			16	11	0
,, Life Compositions			15	15	0
,, Donation			0	10	6
			£310	7	4

Audited and found correct,
J. Paul Rylands.

Sessional Expenses—						
Fire Insurance	£0	16	0			
T. Brakell, Printing, &c.	10	2	6			
E. Doling, Teas, &c.	8	14	2			
Rent	10	10	0			
Secretary's and Treasurer's Expenses, carriage of parcels, &c.	10	7	10			
				40	10	6
Excursion Account—amount not covered by sale of tickets				4	5	6
Vol. 41—Printing Index				2	2	0
,, 42—Printing, binding, and illustrating	£155	16	1*			
Less Mr. Bromley's donation	1	1	0			
				154	15	1
Library—paid for binding				17	14	3
Balance carried forward				91	0	0
				£310	7	4

H. D. Eshelby,
Hon. Treasurer.

* Dr. G. W. Marshall gave a donation of £5 towards this vol. in 1892.

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